

PETER CAREY

VOYAGE A DJOCJA-KARTA EN 1825

*The outbreak of the Java war
as seen by a painter*



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PAYEN'S VOYAGE TO YOGYAKARTA

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To the Memory of Dr H.J. de Graaf
(1899-1984)

A.A.J. PAYEN

**JOURNAL DE MON VOYAGE
A JOCJA KARTA EN 1825**

THE OUTBREAK OF THE JAVA WAR (1825-30)

AS SEEN BY A PAINTER

Edited by

PETER CAREY

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Frontispiece

Oil portrait of A.A. J. Payen (1792-1853) by
his pupil, Radèn Saleh (c. 1814-80), painted
at Doornik (Tournai) in 1847 when Payen was
fifty-five years old. From the painting collec-
tion of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde,
Leiden (Inv. No 5030/1). Photograph by cour-
tesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde,
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FOREWORD

Dans cet avant-propos à l'érudite édition d'une partie du journal du peintre Antoine Payen par M. Peter Carey, je voudrais brièvement rapporter, en faisant appel à la mémoire familiale, les conditions dans lesquelles m'échut, parmi d'autres souvenirs de Payen, le manuscrit de ce journal, aujourd'hui déposé à Leyde.

La famille Boutmy, dynastie de musiciens originaires de Gand, prit au 18^e siècle, une dimension européenne lorsque les nombreux enfants du compositeur et organiste de cour à Bruxelles, Charles-Joseph, dit Josse Boutmy, s'installèrent les uns en Hollande, d'autres en France, certains en Allemagne et un autre enfin en Bessarabie.

A la fin du 19^e siècle, l'un des membres de la branche française, Charles, était maître de forges à Messempré en Lorraine. Il avait pour amie très chère, une lointaine parente, la Comtesse de la Chaufferaye. Cette dame qui publia anonymement, en 1912, un petit livre sur la pensée de Montaigne sous le titre de *La Moëlle de Montaigne* chez Honoré Champion, n'était autre qu'une fille de Payen.

Lorsqu'il eut terminé ses études d'ingénieur à l'Ecole Supérieure d'Electricité, où il avait été l'élève de Pierre Curie, mon grand-père paternel, Lucien, alla tout naturellement travailler dans la fonderie de son cousin éloigné, Charles. Rapidement, il se trouva en quelque sorte adopté par Charles et la Comtesse de la Chaufferaye, tous deux sans enfant, qui devinrent «l'oncle Charles» et «la Tante Mysie» et qui firent de lui leur légataire universel, mon père, leur filleul Charles, étant trop jeune à leur disparition.

C'est ainsi qu'à la mort de la Comtesse en 1920, il revint à mon grand-père, suivant la volonté de la défunte, de remettre à H.H. Juynboll, alors conservateur du Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Musée d'Ethnologie) de Leyde, le magnifique portrait de Payen, peint en 1847, par son élève, le Radèn Saleh, qu'on voit en frontispice de ce livre. Mon grand-père conserva cependant pour lui quelques souvenirs de Payen qu'il me légua à sa mort en 1946.

Parmi ceux-ci se trouvaient deux tableaux, des carnets de croquis, le nécessaire de peinture et enfin le manuscrit du journal du peintre, mais aussi, de la main du Radèn Saleh, deux croquis dont l'un reproduit ici, représente la «Tante Mysie» enfant.

En guise de conclusion, j'aimerais montrer l'intérêt de l'un des tableaux en ma possession pour expliquer la façon dont Payen composait sa peinture. Ce tableau (*Plate B*), représentant un paysage près de Sumedang, avec ses larges touches rapides, présente l'aspect d'une

ébauche, sans doute peinte sur le site même. Payen avait, par ailleurs, fait le croquis d'une voiture à cheval (*Plate 16*). Il est amusant de constater que le tableau intitulé «De Grote Weg en Waterval bij de Berg Polla, bij Soemedang, Preanger» du Musée d'Ethnologie de Leyde (*Plate 3*) est la conjugaison, soignée, de ces deux esquisses.

Henri Philippe BOUTMY
Membre de la Société Asiatique



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Stichting Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague.

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Plate 16 Sketch by Payen of Governor-General van der Capellen's carriage with the horses at full trot. Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 17 Facsimile of the first page of A.A.J. Payen's diary. Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.	Anno Javano
AN	Arsip Nasional (Jakarta)
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague)
Baud	J.C. Baud private collection (Rijksarchief)
<i>BCG</i>	<i>Besluit van den Commissaris-Generaal</i>
<i>BGG</i>	<i>Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal</i>
<i>BGG br</i>	<i>Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal buiten rade</i>
<i>BGG ir</i>	<i>Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in raad</i>
<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> (Leiden)
d.	daughter
Dj.Br.	‘Bundel Djokjo Brieven’ (volumes of letters in the Yogyakarta Residency Archive of the Arsip Nasional, Jakarta)
dB	L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies private collection (Rijksarchief)
dK	H.M. de Kock private collection (Rijksarchief)
f.	Dutch Indies guilder with a fine silver content of 10.91 grams
GKA	Geheim en Kabinets Archief (Rijksarchief)
HB	Hamengkubuwana
Jav.	Javanese
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague)
K.G.P.A.A.	Kangjeng Gusti Pangéran Aria Adipati
KITLV H	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Leiden) Western language MS (H = Hollands)
KITLV Or	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Leiden) Oriental language MS
Knoerle, ‘Journal’	J.H. Knoerle, ‘Aanteekeningen gehouden door den 2 ^e Luitt --- betreffende de dagelyksche verkeerung van dien officier met den Prins van Djocjakarta, Diepo Negoro, gedurende eene reis van Batavia naar Menado, het exil van den genoemden Prins,’ Menado, 20 June 1830, in ARA, J. van den Bosch private coll. no 391.

LOr	Leiden University Library Oriental MS
Mal.	Malay
MvK	Ministerie van Koloniën (archive of the Ministry of the Colonies in the Rijksarchief, The Hague)
MWO	Militaire Willems Orde (the highest Dutch military decoration for bravery on the field of battle)
NBS	Nederlands Bijbel Genootschap (The Netherlands Bible-Society) manuscript deposited in the Leiden University Library
NvB	H.G. Nahuys van Burgst private collection (Bibliotheca Publica Latina 616), Leiden University Library
PB	Pakubuwana
SB	Sana Budaya Museum (Yogyakarta) Javanese MS
S.Br.	'Bundel Solo Brieven' (volumes of letters in the Surakarta Residency Archive of the Arsip Nasional, Jakarta)
Skt.	Sanskrit
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i> (Jakarta)
TNI	<i>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië</i> (Jakarta)
vAE	van Alphen-Engelhard private collection (Rijksarchief)
vdB	Johannes van den Bosch private collection (Rijksarchief)
VKI	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> (Leiden)

INTRODUCTION

The Author

Antoine, Auguste, Joseph Payen (born Brussels, 12 November 1792 - died Doornik [Tournai], 16 January 1853) was probably the most accomplished artist to visit Indonesia before the twentieth century ⁽¹⁾. The second son of a Brussels' architect ⁽²⁾, Payen studied at the Brussels' Academy of Fine Art under the direction of the Belgian landscape painter, Henri van Assche (1774-1841), and won the first prize in a competition organised by the Société des Beaux-Arts in 1815. Unable to find a post in the Southern Netherlands (post-1831, Belgium), he proferred his services as a painter in Java and was appointed by Royal Decree of 19 May 1816 as an official draughtsman (*kunst-schilder*) to the Natural Sciences Commission headed by Professor C.G.C. Reinwardt (1773-1854) at a salary of 400 guilders a month ⁽³⁾. The following year (5 April 1817), he sailed for Indonesia on the transport ship *Selima*, arriving at Batavia on 8 September 1817. During his five-month journey, he appears to have begun the study of Malay and later acquired some knowledge of Javanese ⁽⁴⁾.

He settled at Buitenzorg (Bogor) and in the following years (1818-23) travelled extensively with Reinwardt and other members of the Natural Sciences Commission in western and central Java. He also gave architectural advice on the restoration of the Governor-General's Palace at Bogor and may have assisted Reinwardt in the design of the celebrated Botanical Gardens. Appointed Official Architect to the Governor-General, G.A.G.Ph. Baron van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26), on 24 July 1823, he accompanied the latter on an inspection tour of the Moluccas (Maluku) and eastern Indonesia between April and October 1824 during which he drew some of his best sketches. Back in Batavia (Jakarta) in October 1824, he applied for two years' home leave to marry his fiancée, to whom he had long been betrothed, and to further his artistic and architectural studies in Europe. Van der Capellen, however, refused this request, asking Payen to defer his departure by a year so that he could work up his

recent sketches and participate in the newly-established Javanese Antiquities Commission (*Kommissie tot het Opsporen der Oudheidkundige Voorwerpen op Java*) where his artistic skills were much in demand ⁽⁵⁾. His architectural services were also immediately required for the building of the new Residency House in Yogyakarta, the old one having been rendered uninhabitable in 1822 because of earthquake damage ⁽⁶⁾. The artist journeyed to Central Java in early November 1824 to oversee the commencement of this work and was back there again in June of the following year. On the latter occasion, however, he was cut off by the outbreak of the Java War (20 July 1825) and was unable to leave the principalities until the siege of Yogyakarta was lifted at the end of September 1825. During this enforced stay in the Sultan's capital, he learnt of his dismissal from his official post on account of the economy measures taken by the Dutch Government ⁽⁷⁾. Depressed by the news, he returned to West Java late in 1825 and immediately reapplied for two years' home furlough, citing his domestic obligations and the impairment to his health brought on by ten weeks' cramped quarters in the fetid Yogya fort ⁽⁸⁾. Successful this time, he eventually arrived back in Antwerp on 8 July 1826.

Payen never returned to Indonesia again but was permitted to remain in the Netherlands where he secured a royal appointment as a teacher of geometrical drawing at the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Marine in Medemblik ⁽⁹⁾. In 1830, it was agreed that, in return for a financial subsidy, he would execute a number of large oil paintings based on drawings and sketches which he had made in Indonesia for a planned 'Indies Gallery' (*Indische Gallerij*) in the Hague, a project which never reached fruition. Payen did manage to work up many of his drawings into magnificent canvasses which he continued to send to the Director-General of Education, Arts and Sciences in the Hague even after he had returned to his native Belgium when that country obtained its *de facto* independence from the Netherlands in 1831 ⁽¹⁰⁾. For the rest of his life he worked at various places in Belgium ending his career as Professor of Art and Sculpture, and Director of the Teken-academie (Drawing Academy) at Doornik (Tournai), a post to which he was appointed in 1838. He died there suddenly on 16 January 1853 ⁽¹¹⁾.

An exceptionally modest man despite his great artistic talents, Payen was the first to transfer to large canvasses the rich tropical beauty of Indonesia. Landscapes were his particular *forte* and his second daughter subsequently referred to him during his later years as a man who 'self-effacingly took pleasure in his memories of Java and in the artistic depiction of the scenes he had witnessed there. He was a true *savant* at the same time as being a very conscientious artist' ⁽¹²⁾.

Payen's Writings

From the time he left for Indonesia in April 1817 until his return to Europe in July 1826 Payen kept a series of travel journals, five of which have survived. These, along with other papers and technical notebooks belonging to Payen, were generously loaned to the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Ethnographic Museum) in Leiden, home of many of Payen's paintings and sketches, by one of the painter's indirect descendants, Monsieur Henri-Philippe Boutmy of Paris. Apparently composed as a diary record for the lady to whom Payen was first betrothed ⁽¹³⁾, the journals constitute a very rich source, not only for Payen's own career as an artist in Indonesia ⁽¹⁴⁾, but also for the colonial history of the period 1817-26. Any future historian of the activities of the Reinwardt Commission (1816-22) in Indonesia, for example, will find them essential reading. In many places the journals shed light on specifically Indonesian affairs, and here the diary kept by Payen during his second visit to Yogyakarta (27 June-29 September 1825) merits particular attention. Entitled simply, 'Journal de Mon Voyage à Jocja Karta en 1825' ('Journal of My Voyage to Yogyakarta in 1825') ⁽¹⁵⁾, it relates in considerable detail Payen's day by day experiences in the Sultan's capital from the time he set out from Bandung on 27 June 1825 to oversee the final stages of the building work on the new Yogyakarta Residency House, until his final departure from the principalities on 29 September 1825. In Payen's own slightly paradoxical words it was 'the finest, most pleasant and most tedious sojourn which I ever made in Java' ⁽¹⁶⁾, words which perhaps encapsulate the mixture of exhilaration, fear and fascination which the events of those weeks exercised on the mind of the gentle artist ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Unfortunately, it was not a very productive time for Payen as a painter: he mentioned that he was only able to complete two sketches (*croquis*) during the whole period. The first was of the Dutch post at Ampèl, executed while he was *en route* to Yogyakarta (30 June 1825). The second was of Klathèn (27 September 1825), drawn when he already knew that he would get out of the principalities alive and the terror of the siege has receded slightly ⁽¹⁸⁾. The art historian interested in chronicling the evolution of Payen's *œuvre* will, therefore, find little of immediate interest in these pages. But this loss is more than compensated for by Payen's sharp eye for detail and the unique record which he has left us of what it was actually like to live through the first terrible months of the Java War *en grande guerre* in Yogyakarta. Unlike the dry tones of the official reports or the bluff details of the military dispatches, Payen's Yogyakarta journal gives a very intimate and personal view of events. These include many memorable scenes

which only the pen of an artist could have evoked so vividly: the flight of Dipanagara from Tegalreja, for example, with the prince seemingly dancing (*tandhak*) in the midst of his lance-bearing bodyguard (20 July 1825) – the silent and mysterious return of the Ratu Agung (Dowager Consort) with her infant royal grandson, Hamengkubuwana V (r. 1822-26/1826-28) to the Yogy fort at dead of night, the faces of the Javanese only being lit by flickering candlelight (7 August 1825) – the brutality of the European officers and soldiery kicking and punching to death a captured '*santri*' (man of religion) (18 August 1825) – the expectant Yogyakarta garrison on tenterhooks for the longed-for cannon shot which would signal the arrival of Lieutenant-General De Kock's relief column outside Yogyakarta (20 September 1825) – and the picaresque vignette of the portly and incompetent Resident Smis-saert bumping along on horseback behind the column dispatched to greet the general like some latter-day Sancho Panza (20 September 1825).

In addition to these deftly sketched descriptions, which bring Payen's narrative alive, there are also many details which add to our knowledge of the period and the way in which the beleaguered Europeans viewed their Javanese adversaries. The latter, usually referred to by Payen as 'rebels' (*révoltés*) or 'scoundrels' (*brandhal*), are portrayed as brave but misguided fanatics. None more so than their leader, Dipanagara, sometimes referred to as '*le fanatique Dipanagara*', about whom Payen seems to have faithfully relayed most of the popular European misconceptions of the time (18 July 1825). Given the artist's perceptive appreciation of the desperate plight of the local Javanese peasantry before the outbreak of the Java War and the brazen exploitation of the Chinese tollgate keepers (9 July 1825), it is somewhat puzzling that he did not associate the causes of Dipanagara's rebellion more closely with these social problems. This failure of imagination, however, was common to nearly all Payen's European contemporaries in Yogyakarta at this time, men who should have known far better than Payen what was afoot. It is here that the young artist's biting descriptions of Smis-saert are so apt (7 July, 22 July, 21 August, 4 September, 20 September 1825). If a man in that position could calmly deny all knowledge of why the war had broken out and could dismiss Dipanagara as a 'fanatic who from time to time is tormented by madness in which state he had earlier given himself over to stupid steps (*dwaze stappen*) and forced religious duties (*vergedrevene godsdiens-tige oefeningen*)' ⁽¹⁹⁾, it is not surprising that Payen himself should have been unable to grasp the inner meaning of the events which he witnessed. As Professor Drewes has so trenchantly pointed out, Smis-saert's judgement stands out as a *testimonium in paupertate* for the whole of Dutch rule in Indonesia in the early nineteenth century ⁽²⁰⁾. In

fact, Payen, who was much better acquainted with West Java than with the principalities, showed himself to be a more acute observer of the local scene than many of his European contemporaries. Here he clearly benefitted from his close association with the Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta, P.F.H. Chevallier (in office, 1823-25), a man who emerges from these pages as incomparably more competent than his immediate superior ⁽²¹⁾.

The strength of Payen's journal as an historical document thus lies largely in the details which it contains: the special feelings which bound fellow Belgians together in a foreign land (the sheer number of *Belges* in Dutch service in Indonesia at this time is in itself an interesting phenomenon) ⁽²²⁾, the relationship of Payen with his pupil, Raden Saleh (c. 1814-1880), and the latter's mentor in West Java, Baron R.L.J. van der Capellen ⁽²³⁾, the miserable fare of rice and coconut pap (*bubur*) which the Yogya defenders had to subsist on during the last days before their relief (13 September 1825), the deaths from hunger of the *abdi-Dalem* (royal retainers) in the *kraton* (5 September 1825), the astronomical rise in the price of basic foodstuffs (2 September, 7 September 1825), and the callous way in which various Europeans (even officers) profited from the general distress (7 September 1825). As a daily account of events in Yogyakarta, Payen's journal is unrivalled. Chevallier's own diary (*Dag-Register*), which covers a much shorter time span (16 July-6 August 1825), reads flatly by comparison and totally lacks the richness of Payen's observations ⁽²⁴⁾. Only Adriaan David Cornets de Groot Jr.'s (1804-29) letters written from Surakarta during this period can be compared to it, but they are really too diffuse to merit close attention ⁽²⁵⁾.

It is thus exceptionally fortunate that Payen's journals have survived, for not only do they constitute the basic source for any future biography of the artist, but they enable us to see events through the eyes of a uniquely perceptive and sensitive individual, a man who stood right outside the stuffy world of Dutch-Indies officials. It is hoped that the present edition of just one of the Payen's journals will spur on others, especially experts on Payen's artistic *œuvre*, to undertake a major study of his career which might incorporate a complete edition of his extant letters and diaries. Interleaved with tasteful reproductions of Payen's Indonesian landscapes and line drawings, it would make an unusually handsome publication ⁽²⁶⁾.

Transcription, Texts and Orthography

Payen wrote his 1825 journal on rather thin locally-made paper, probably Chinese *kertas dhedak* produced from pulped rice husks, which was often used for lower level administrative reports during this

period ⁽²⁷⁾. The scarcity of European-manufactured paper during the siege conditions in Yogyakarta may have dictated Payen's choice of material. Unfortunately, many of the leaves of the original manuscript (especially the front and the back folios) are now so brittle that the corners and edges have begun to crack with the result that some words are almost indecipherable. Unless immediate steps are taken the whole manuscript may soon disintegrate. The present edition thus has a greater importance in terms of conserving the original text than it might otherwise have done.

Wherever possible Payen's idiosyncratic spelling of proper names and toponyms has been adhered to, although, where appropriate, the correct version has been given in brackets the first time that such a name appears in the text. Payen's French prose has also been left as it appears in the original except that accents, genitive suffixes and plurals have been added where necessary, most of these having been omitted in the MS. The preparation of the text has largely been the responsibility of Dr Guillot of the Association Archipel, the present editor having taken charge of everything concerning the historical aspects of the work, especially the notes and the introduction. The original numbering of the folios (1-14) by Payen has been followed rather than the pencilled page numbers written by Dr. Pott after the MS was received in Leiden. There is only one complete MS of the 1825 journal available (entitled simply 'Voyage à Djocja-Karta 1825'), which, judging by Payen's numerous erasures and insertions was a rough draft. The artist did begin to write out a revised version, which bears the slightly longer title of 'Voyage à Djocjo-Karta en 1825' ⁽²⁸⁾. But this was abandoned after only two and a half sides of the first folio (covering the diary entries from 27 June to 2 July 1825) had been completed. It is rather more than a mere copy of the rough draft since it adds new details in places and differs from the original text in many respects. It has thus been taken as the basis for the transcription of the first diary entries in the present edition, although a few passages from the rough draft, which are not included in the revised version are given in brackets. From the entry of 3 July 1825 until the end, however, the edition follows one single source (i.e. the rough draft). The title at the top of the first page of the present edition of the diary ('Journal de Mon Voyage à Jocja Karta en 1825') has been taken from a torn loose-leaf folio which obviously once served as a binder for the two manuscript versions of the journal.

European names, mainly those of serving officers, have been checked against the details given in the first five volumes of Louw and De Klerck's History of the Java War, or in the relevant *stamboeken* (service records) of civilian and military officials kept in the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague. The editor would hereby like to thank the

Head of the Second Section of this Archive, Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij, and her staff, for their help in tracing individuals through these sources. Javanese names and expressions have been corrected and modernised in the notes according to the system adopted by the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional in Jakarta in 1976. Thus 'tja' becomes 'ca', 'da' becomes 'dha', 'dja' becomes 'ja', 'ja' becomes 'ya', 'nja' becomes 'nya', 'ta' becomes 'tha', and only the *taling* (é/è) is indicated. All the parts of the text printed in cursive script refer to Payen's original MSS, anything in roman script to interpolations by the editor. Where appropriate, dates according to the Javanese era (A.J. – *Anno Javano*) have been given in the notes, but wherever a date is not preceded by the letters A.J., readers can assume that it is a date from the Christian era (A.D.).

Special Acknowledgements

The preparation of the present edition would not have come about but for the initial help and inspiration of the late Dr H.J. de Graaf who made available a complete transcription of the 1825 journal written in Payen's notoriously difficult hand. It is thus fitting that this small work should be dedicated to Dr de Graaf who did so much during his scholarly career to foster an appreciation for the Javanese view of history ⁽²⁹⁾. The editor would also like to thank Dr P.H. Pott, sometime Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, for his help in tracing some of Payen's Central Javanese sketches and for providing biographical details about the painter. Mrs N. Boeseman-Pluijmert, the Head of the Photographic Section of the same Museum, was also ever ready to lend assistance both with the photographs and the manuscript. The edition itself could not have published without the generous financial assistance of the 'Twenty-Seven Foundation' (University of London) and the cooperation of the Association Archipel in Paris. Special thanks are due to Denys Lombard and his colleagues, most particularly to Claude Guillot for his painstaking editorial work and to Pierre Labrousse for overseeing the printing of the text. Finally, the present editor is grateful to M. Boutmy for allowing one of his ancestor's writings to appear in print for the first time. Payen himself would have been pleased to see his work appear in its original French rather than in some inadequate English translation.

Although every effort has been made to produce as carefully edited a text as possible, the present editor recognises full well that there will still be many shortcomings and mistakes. For these he begs the indulgence of readers: *nuwun pangapunten sadaya kalepatanipun kula!*

NOTES

1. Details on Payen's career have been taken from the following: the service record (*stamboek*) of Payen found amongst his papers in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden) (henceforth: Payen, 'Stamboek'); *Biographie Nationale*, vol. 16 (Bruxelles: Bruylant-Christophe & Cie, 1901), pp. 772-73 (biographical entry on Payen by Henri Hymans); J. de Loos-Haaxman, *Verlaat Rapport Indië. Drie Eeuwen Westerse Schilders, Tekenaars, Grafici, Zilvermeden en Kunstnijveren in Nederlands-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton and Co, 1968), pp. 23-24, pp. 54-55, p. 58, p. 69, pp. 76-78; and John Bastin and Bea Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints and Illustrated Books of Indonesia With Particular Reference to the Print Collection of the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. A Descriptive Bibliography* (Utrecht and Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers, 1979), pp. 324-25. The last, above all, has furnished me with the details cited in the first part of this introduction. Attention is also drawn to the following unpublished M.A. thesis presented at the University of Amsterdam in 1976 which uses Payen's journals as a source: E. Key, 'De Opdracht aan de Schilder A.A.J. Payen in de Oost' (doctoraal scriptie Kunstgeschiedenis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1976, stencil).
2. Payen, 'Stamboek'; and MvK 3091, 'Stamboek van Oost Indisch Ambtenaren (1814-49)', f. 64, give his father's name as 'Philip Auguste Payen' and his mother's as 'Jacqueline Thiriau'. A pencil note at the bottom of Payen, 'Stamboek', states that Payen's grandfather (?) ('Payen *de oude*') bore the name 'Antoine Marie Joseph Payen'. Born at Doornik (Tournai) on 5 May 1749, he had moved to Brussels after qualifying as an architect and died there on 29 June 1798. The same source gives details about the various buildings and restoration work which he carried out during his life. Payen's father, referred to in the same pencil notes as 'Auguste Payen', was Municipal Architect (*Stadsarchitect*) in Brussels, where he restored *inter alia* the beautiful chapel of the old royal palace (*Hof*) of Brussels in 1839.
3. Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p. 324; Payen, 'Stamboek'.
4. Payen's first notebook (*cahier*) which deals with his sea voyage to Indonesia (5 April-3 September 1817) and his first stay in West Java (1 July 1818-7 September 1819) contains a small Malay-French word list at the back, the Malay expressions being written in both roman and *jawi* script. His last diary containing details about his journey from Antwerp to Utrecht (27 July-9 August 1826) after his return from Indonesia contains a Javanese expression ('*para perkara Jawa bahiman (?) mesthi pernah*') penned in Javanese characters. See below n. 14 nos. 2 and 6.
5. MvK 2478, *BGG br*, 16 Oct. 1824 no. 1; Payen, 'Stamboek'; and Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p. 324.
6. MvK 2478, *BGG br*, 16 Oct. 1824 no. 2; Payen, 'Stamboek'; and Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints in Indonesia*, p. 324. For pictures of the Resident's House in Yogyakarta in the late nineteenth century, see the sources cited in Bastin and Brommer, *op. cit.*, p. 324 n. 6; and J.B.J. van Doren, *Reis naar Nederlands Oost-Indië of Land- en Zeetogten gedurende de Twee Eerste Jaren Mijns Verblijfs op Java*, vol. II ('s-Gravenhage: Gebroeders J. and H. van Langenhuysen, 1851), p. 337, who mentioned the new building designed by Payen as 'a fine building' ('*een fraai gebouw*') where, as an officer in Yogya during the later 1820's, he had taken many refreshing baths.
7. See Payen's journal entry for 20 September 1825. The official news of his 'honourable dismissal' was carried on the front page of the *Bataviasche Courant* (no. 35) of Wednesday, 31 August 1825.

8. MvK 2489, *BGG br*, 20 Dec. 1825 no. 1; MvK, *Verbaal*, 14 July 1826 no. 63; and ARA, Archief Staatssecretarie (1813-40), *Koninklijk Besluit*, 19 Feb. 1830, no. 149, Payen to Minister of Marine and Colonies, 1 Aug. 1828.
9. Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p. 324; and Payen, 'Stamboek'.
10. See Hymans, 'Payen', in *Biographie Nationale*, p. 773, where he mentioned that Payen lived at Etterbeek near Brussels in 1832. Belgium achieved its *de jure* independence from Holland when the final agreement between the two countries was signed in 1839.
11. On Payen's sudden death, see MvK, *Verbaal*, 5 Feb. 1853 no. 7, Caroline Payen to Minister of Marine and Colonies, 30 Jan. 1853; and Payen, 'Stamboek'. It should be noted that the date given in Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p. 324 (18 January 1853) is incorrect.
12. Herman F.C. Ten Kate, 'Schilder-Tekenaars in Nederlandsch Oost-en West-Indië en Hun Beteekenis voor de Land- en Volkenkunde', *BKI*, vol. 67 (1913), p. 459 ('*sa modestie se complaisait dans ses souvenirs de Java et dans la peinture des scènes qu'il avait vues là-bas. C'était un vrai savant, doublé d'un artiste consciencieux*').
13. This assumption is suggested by the phrase '*chère amie*' (a term of address often used for intimate acquaintances in French) in Payen's diary entry for 21 September 1825; and to his specific reference to '*ma chère Pauline*' on the first page of his journal dealing with his return to Europe in 1826, see below n. 14 no. 5. It is almost certain that this lady was Payen's first wife who died in childbirth some time in late 1827 or early in 1828 just twelve months after the artist's marriage to her. The child (a girl) by the union survived, and Payen later had another daughter by his second marriage contracted soon afterwards. On Payen's marriages and children, see ARA, *Koninklijk Besluit*, 19 Feb. 1830, no. 149, Payen to Minister of Marine and Colonies, 1 Aug. 1828; MvK, *Verbaal*, 5 Feb. 1853 no. 7, Caroline Payen to Minister of Marine and Colonies, 30 Jan. 1853 (request from one of Payen's daughters for a pension from the Dutch Colonial Office for her mother, Mme Antoine Payen, which was eventually refused on the grounds that Payen had only been in Dutch colonial service for ten years); and MvK, *Verbaal*, 8 Jan. 1869 no. 15, E.B. Thibau (*Veuve Payen*) to Minister of Marine and Colonies, 8 Nov. 1868 (similar request from Payen's widow which was also refused).
14. The following details on Payen's travel journals and notebooks (*cahiers*), which are currently on deposit at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden), were kindly supplied for me by Dr Wim Raven of the Vrije Universiteit (Amsterdam):
 1. *Cahier* containing some Payen's notes on construction plans, building materials and metals etc:
 - (a) '*Notes sur le tracé des plans de modèles de vaisseaux*'.
 - (b) '*Notes sur matières divers (i.e. machines etc)*'.
 - (c) '*Tableau des métaux rangés suivant l'ordre de leur plus grand gestibilité (? fertilité)*'.
 2. *Cahier*, 219 pp., containing two diary fragments:
 - (a) Journal of Payen's sea voyage to the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) on board the *Selima*, dated 16 March-12 September 1817.
 - (b) Journal of Payen's first stay in West Java dated 1 July 1818 to 7 August (in fact September) 1819, mentioning principally the towns of Batavia (Jakarta), Bandung and Buitenzorg, but also referring to several trips through the Priangan Highlands. Many notes, principally for his own use, on traveling facilities and distances etc., as well as references to his own artistic work and his contacts with people such as Lt.-Col. Baron R.L.J. van der Capel-

len (Resident of the Preanger Regencies, 1819-21, see below n. 146 of the text); and the well-known Dutch landowner, 'Stits', de Wilde (? Andries de Wilde), see F. de Haan, *Priangan. De Preanger Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, vol. I (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij & 's-Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1910), p. 284 ff.).

3. Travel diary of a tour through the Priangan Highlands (West Java) dated 8 October-31 December 1822. Badly written in pencil in a sort of sketch-book, it mentions, *inter alia*, his arrival in Singaparna (*Kabupatèn* Sukapura) on 12 October 1822, his visit to Garut and ascent of Mt. Galunggung, and in Bandung in December 1822. There are many descriptions of roads, mountain scenery and ascents of volcanoes. An entry for 20 October refers to Payen's medical and relief work for the victims of the terrible eruption of Mt. Galunggung, on 8-12 Oct. 1822, which cost the lives of over a thousand people, see 'Chronologisch Overzicht der Aardbevingen en Uitbarstingen van Vulkanen in Neêrlands Indië', *TNI*, 7 jaargang vol. I (1845), p. 47.
4. Bundle of papers, 79 pp., containing travel diaries:
 - (a) Diary of Payen's sea voyage with Governor-General Baron G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) through the Moluccas (Maluku) and Sulawesi on board the *Eurydice*. Starts with his departure from Ambon on 18 April 1824 and mentions his visits to Batu Hollanda, Komber (?), Boano, Mandioli, Ternate, Poso, Manado (where he apparently had a boring stay from 12 June 1824 onwards), and Makasar (Fort Rotterdam). Ends with his return voyage from Makasar to Semarang (via Gresik and Surabaya) on board the same vessel (12 September-early October 1824)).
 - (b) Diary of Payen's first visit to Yogyakarta (from Semarang) to oversee the building work on the Resident's house ('*Voyage à Djocjo Kerta pour visiter les travaux faits à la maison du Résident*'), dated 4-16 November 1824.
5. Bundle of papers, 75 pp., containing a diary of his voyage back to Europe on board the *Eurydice*, dated 5 January 1826 (departure from Batavia) to 8 July 1826 (arrival in Antwerp). Entitled in the original: '*Retour en Europe*'. At the beginning, in an entry dated (? 31) December 1825, Payen looks back briefly on the past year and his experiences during the siege of Yogyakarta.
6. Fragment of a diary containing details about Payen's journey through the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and Belgium after his arrival at Antwerp on 8 July 1826 (see above no. 5). Begins with his departure from Antwerp on 27 July and ends after his visit to G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen near Utrecht on 9 August. Describes his meetings with many people (*inter alia*, the Minister of Marine and Colonies, C.Th. Elout [in office, 1824-29], and King William I [r. 1813-40]) and his favorable impressions of the Dutch towns which he visits. There is a reference in his diary entry of 5 August 1826 to a note which he wrote in support of his pupil Raden Saleh (c. 1814-80, see below ns. 212 and 228 of the journal) for Jean Chrétien Baud (1789-1859), at the time Director of East Indies Affairs at the Ministry of the Marine and Colonies at the Hague.
On the journals, see further Key, 'De Opdragt aan de Schilder A.A.J. Payen in de Oost', p. 16, p. 23 n. 2.
15. For a discussion of the various titles used by Payen for the MSS. of his 1825 journal, see the section on 'Transcription, Texts and Orthography' below.
16. See Payen's journal entry for 21 September 1825 below where he mentioned that his second stay in Yogyakarta was: '*Un séjour que j'ai trouvé le plus beau, le plus agréable et le plus ennuyeux que j'aie visité à Java*'.
17. It is interesting to compare these mixed feelings of Payen with similar sentiments

expressed in the modern day by civilians caught up in such events as the siege of the Iranian Embassy in London (April-May 1980).

18. See Payen's journal entries for 30 June 1825 and 27 September 1825.
19. MvK 4132, 'Bijlagen Smissaert', A.H. Smissaert to G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen, 19 July 1825; and, on Van der Capellen's reaction to Smissaert's letter, see Anon. (ed.), 'Aanteekeningen van den Gouverneur-Generaal baron G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen over den Opstand van Diponegoro, in 1825', *TNI*, vol. 22 (1860), p. 363, where the Governor-General remarked that '(Smissaert's) communication is confused and shows more fear on his part, than the signs of a calm disposition, which it is so essential to have and maintain in such circumstances'.
20. G.W.J. Drewes, 'Autobiografieën van Indonesiers', *BKI*, vol. 100 (Jubileum Nummer) (1951), p. 235.
21. On Chevallier, see below n. 3 of the journal; and, on his relationship with Smissaert, see P.J.F. Louw, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol. I (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij & 's-Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1894), pp. 279-81.
22. See Eugène Cruyplants, *Histoire de la Participation des Belges aux Campagnes des Indes Orientales Néerlandaises sous le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas (1815-30)* (Bruxelles: Spi-neux, 1883), Chap. II and *passim*; and below n. 70 of the journal.
23. See Payen's journal entries for 12 August, 8 September and 16 September 1825; and ns. 146, 223 and 239.
24. See NvB 9 pt. 2, 'Dag-Register van den Assistent-Resident van Djokjokarta inhoudende aanteekeningen nopens het gebeurde van den 16 Julij tot en met (6) Augustus 1825'. The merits of this source are described in P.B.R. Carey (ed. & trans.), *Babad Dipanagara. An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-1830)* (Kuala Lumpur: Art Printing Works Sdn. Bhd. for the Council of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1981), p. xxxiv.
25. See below n. 285 of the journal.
26. Ms Marie-Odette Groot of Sterappelstraat 4, The Hague, an art historian, has indicated to the present editor that she intends to embark on research for such a publication in the near future, p.c. 9 April 1986.
27. See J.W. Winter (ed. G.P. Rouffaer), 'Beknopte Beschrijving van het Hof Soerakarta in 1824', *BKI*, vol. 54 (1902), p. 165 n. 68 *bis*.
28. See the facsimile of the front page of this revised version which is reproduced in Plate 17 of the present volume.
29. See M.C. Ricklefs, 'In Memoriam Dr. H.J. de Graaf', *BKI*, vol. 141 (1986), pp. 191-201.

ENGLISH SUMMARY OF THE MAIN EVENTS DESCRIBED IN PAYEN'S JOURNAL

(27 June - 29 September 1825)

27-30 June 1825

Description of Payen's journey from Bandung to Yogyakarta via Cirebon, Semarang, Salatiga and Ampèl.

30 June 1825

Arrival in Yogyakarta and meeting with the Assistant-Resident, P.F.H. Chevallier, and other close acquaintances.

1 - 2 July 1825

Meetings with Resident A.H. Smissaert and description of a visit to the latter's country retreat at Bedhaya high on the slopes of Mt. Merapi.

3 July 1825

Dinner with Chevallier at Rajawinangun, a royal estate to the east of Yogyakarta.

7 July 1825

Difficulties with Smissaert about building materials for the Residency House.

8 July 1825

Report of a conversation with Chevallier at Rajawinangun concerning his two recent inspection tours through the western and eastern outlying provinces of the Central Javanese courts. Description of the terrible social conditions, particularly in the latter areas, due to the working of the tollgates and the oppression of the Chinese tax-farmers.

9 July 1825

Visit with Chevallier to inspect the bridge building work being carried out between Yogya and Klathèn. Description of an encounter with a large armed gang led by some Chinese who are setting out to attack a neighbouring Javanese village on account of evasion of toll dues. Further reflections by Payen on the excesses of the Chinese. Separate meetings with Wiranagara (commander of the Sultan's bodyguard) and the Yogya *Patih*, Danureja IV. Respective loyalties of the two latter.

12-14 July 1825

Visit with Chevallier and Dietrée (Yogya Residency Interpreter for Javanese) to Surakarta to negotiate with Mangkunagara II for timber supplies for the construction work on the new Yogya Residency House. Description

of illegal impositions at a customs-post (*salaran*) just outside Klathèn. Swift action by Chevallier to remedy the latter.

15-16 July 1825

Description of evenings spent pleasantly with Chevallier at Rajawinangun. On 16 July an urgent dispatch comes through from the Second Resident of Surakarta (MacGillavry) giving news of the gathering of armed men at Dipanagara's residence (Tegalreja) and other warlike preparations. Steps taken by Chevallier to place Dipanagara under surveillance and ensure the security of the Yogya *kraton*.

18 July 1825

Report of the *Patih*'s confidant, Prawiradimeja, on Dipanagara and the situation at Tegalreja. Return of Smissaert with his family from Bedhaya, and description of the reports made on Dipanagara by various *Pangéran* and *Bupati* at Danureja's office. Details of Dipanagara's behaviour during the past three months (May-July 1825), especially his insolence towards Smissaert. Dispatch of messengers to Tegalreja leads to an evasive reply from Dipanagara. Pangéran Mangkubumi, co-guardian with Dipanagara of the young Sultan (HB V), tells Smissaert about Dipanagara's evil intentions, but the Resident treats him roughly and states that he will be held personally responsible for the prince's actions. Mangkubumi promises to return to Tegalreja the following day. Reflections on the inadequate steps taken by Smissaert to deal with the increasingly serious situation. Chevallier's offer to go to talk with Dipanagara in person is brushed aside.

19 July 1825

Further reports come through on the developments at Tegalreja and Dipanagara's attitude. Continuing evasive responses of the latter to Smissaert's overtures. The *Patih* (Danureja IV) advises that European troops should be sent to arrest the prince. No effective decisions are taken and the local Yogya inhabitants begin hiding away their valuables in preparation for the inevitable hostilities.

20 July 1825

Chevallier's plan to visit Dipanagara in person is abandoned out of fears for his personal safety, and Wiranagara takes steps to ensure that the *kraton* troops are at the ready. Mangkubumi, increasingly harassed by the Resident, goes over to Tegalreja and makes common cause with Dipanagara. A senior court official is then sent with another letter, but Ratu Agung (HB V's grandmother), fearing for the safety of the young Sultan, demands that immediate and forceful measures should be taken. This leads to the dispatch of a mixed Javanese-European expedition to Tegalreja, but Dipanagara and most of his supporters are able to escape unscathed over the ricefields to Selarong.

21-22 July 1825

Meetings in Yogyakarta between the princes, senior court officials and the Resident. Description of the unseemly behaviour of the latter who engages in incongruous drinking sessions and makes a singularly inappropriate

speech. On the insistence of Ratu Agung, hostages are taken from amongst the close members of the royal family, to prevent other Yogya princes defecting to Dipanagara. Arrival of the Commander of the Second Military (Semarang) Division of Java with an engineer officer and elements of the Mangkunagaran Legion.

23 July 1825

News come through of the ambush of a Dutch bullion convoy from Magelang to Yogya, the rearguard of which is cut off with the loss of many Dutch lives. A small cavalry detachment sent out from Yogya under the command of Payen's friend, Lt. Delattre, disperses the attackers. Reflections on the ineptitude of the officer in charge of the bullion convoy.

24 July 1825

A mixed Javanese-European expedition sent against the rebel princes gets as far as Bantul but then beats a retreat. Description of the fighting tactics and armaments of Dipanagara's supporters in the local villages around Bantul, who harass the Dutch column. Drunkenness and misbehaviour of some of the senior Europeans (in particular the Commander of the Second Military Division) in the fort.

25 July 1825

Attacks of Dipanagara's supporters in the area around the Tugu (Witte Paal) at the head of Jalan Maliabara. They are dispersed, but Yogya is now closely invested and there are fears of famine. Continuing drunkenness and incapacity of the Divisional Commander.

26 July 1825

Continuing desertion of members of the *kraton* to Dipanagara. Ratu Agung, supported by Pakualam I, demands that all the remaining princes should be arrested. She also asks to be allowed to take refuge with the young Sultan in the fort, but this is refused. At Chevallier's insistence, reinforcements are sent to the *kraton* to bolster its defences. Letters are sent to Ratu Agung and Wiranagara by Dipanagara's younger brother, Adinagara, urging them to make common cause with the prince and help in driving the Dutch from Java. Similar proposals are made to Pakualam I. Wiranagara replies on behalf of Ratu Agung fiercely rejecting the overtures. Members of the Mangkunagaran Legion taken up positions on the *kraton* battlements. Some of Dipanagara's supporters, including his *Patih* (chief assistant), are captured and 'interrogated' by the Mangkunagaran commander.

27 July 1825

The siege of Yogya is tightened: bridges on the main roads out of the city are burnt and the highways blocked. Lt. Thierry, one of the Dutch commanders of the abortive expedition against Tegalreja (above 20 July 1825), commits suicide.

28 July 1825

The situation eases slightly and there are more people at the Yogya *pasar*. An attempt is made to send letters through to Surakarta under a Mangkunagaran cavalry escort, but the troops are attacked at Kalasan and many

are killed. In the evening, a relief column arrives from Surakarta under the command of Colonel Cochius after a difficult march.

29-30 July 1825

A mobile column is established to try to keep communications open between Yogya, Klathèn and Surakarta. Payen is scathing about it and suspects that many officers want to get away from Yogya as soon as possible. On 30 July Cochius and various senior officers leave the Sultan's capital.

1-2 August 1825

Rumours circulate of an imminent attack on the *kraton* and appropriate defensive measures are taken. A group of Dipanagara's supporters appear in the vicinity of the Tugu (Witte Paal) and are dispersed. Fires spread in Yogya affecting both the buildings of the *Kepatihan* and residential quarters in the southern part of the *kraton*. News comes through from Klathèn that Cochius's column has passed through safely and that the Lieutenant Governor-General, H.M. de Kock, has arrived in Surakarta on 1 August.

3 August 1825

Description of an interview by Chevallier with one of Dipanagara's sons, Radèn Mas Alip, who gives an account of his father's previous behaviour and his preparations for rebellion.

4-5 August 1825

The Sultan's bodyguard troops continue to desert to Dipanagara and spies bring in reports about an imminent massed attack on Yogya. Information also comes through that the commander of the Mangkunagaran expeditions ambushed at Kalasan (above 28 July 1825), has been seen at Dipanagara's headquarters at Selarong where he is being held prisoner. Abubakar, the father-in-law of Wiranagara, goes over to Dipanagara.

6 August 1825

The number of bodyguard troops deserting to Dipanagara grows, and now include most of the members of the 'priestly' Suranatan and Suryagama regiments. Ratu Agung, no longer able to trust any in the *kraton*, successfully seeks asylum with the young Sultan in the fort. The main court heirlooms (*pusaka ageng*) are also brought along for safe keeping. Description of the moving and dignified speech made by Ratu Agung to the remaining court retainers about her transfer to the fort. In the evening, Payen witnesses Ratu Agung's precipitate return to the *kraton* with the young Sultan because the latter has made such a fuss about his new quarters. Spies bring in information that many chiefs have been summoned to Selarong and that a major attack on Yogya is being planned.

7 August 1825

Chevallier has a long interview with Ratu Agung in the *kraton* and persuades her to take the young Sultan back to the fort. The latter's major-domo (*Patih*), a man who has been greatly enriched by his association with the royal family, is placed under arrest for conspiring to go over to Dipanagara. The military situation in the capital deteriorates and it seems that the *kraton*, Pakualaman and European quarter will fall into enemy hands. A *kuli*

arrives with the news that Dipanagara's supporters have been repulsed with great loss from their investment of Magelang and that an estate belonging to a local Dutch land-renter has been burnt to the ground. The measures taken to defend various parts of Yogya are described. At nine o'clock that night, Ratu Agung with her entourage make a silent, and candlelight entry into the fort so as not to disturb the sleeping Sultan who is with them.

8 August 1825

From midnight onwards there is the continuous sound of gunfire from the direction of the *kraton*. An early reveille is sounded in the fort and by seven o'clock in the morning a massed attack begins on the Pakualaman. Another enemy column penetrates as far as the bridge below the European quarter and is repulsed with difficulty. At eleven o'clock, the battle is broken off and Dipanagara's supporters beat a retreat towards Rajawinangun and Kutha Gedhé. A similar engagement takes place on the road leading out of Yogya to Gamping. By midday all is quiet and news comes through that Colonel Cochijs is again approaching with a relief column of 400 men including elements of the Mangkunagaran Legion and five Surakarta *Bupati* who are returning to their lands in the west. They arrive safely at six o'clock in the evening.

9 August 1825

The young Sultan's mother, the psychologically deranged Ratu Kencana, decides to remain in the *kraton*, but the ex-consort of the deceased third Sultan is escorted to the fort with the young Sultan's little sister. After a quiet day, the silence of the night is only broken occasionally by the sound of gunfire from the *kraton*.

10 August 1825

An expedition is sent out under Colonel Cochijs to reconnoitre the enemy held areas around Kutha Gedhé, but an attempt to parley with the local Surakarta and Yogyakarta officials meets with failure. Further news comes through from Magelang about developments there and in the neighbouring areas of Ledhok and Kalibeyer which have recently risen in revolt. Everywhere there are reports that Chinese communities are being massacred. The situation in Central Java, according to Payen, is at its most critical.

11 August 1825

A small skirmish takes place on Jalan Maliabara in which a Mangkunagaran officer is lightly wounded. One of Dipanagara's supporters is arrested as he tries to set fire to the Chinese quarter (*Kampung Cina*). Colonel Cochijs prepares to depart with his column for Kedhu, despite representations from the local Indo-European citizenry of Yogya that he should delay his march. Various defensive preparations are made in Yogya to meet another attack.

12 August 1825

Colonel Cochijs and other senior officers leave Yogya with the recently arrived relief column (above 8 August 1825) and make for Klathèn instead of Magelang (above 11 August 1825). Payen reflects that if he had known of their change of plans he would have taken the opportunity of leaving Yogya

with them. After Cochiuss's departure, the continuing problem of food supplies causes further, serious desertions amongst the Javanese troops in the Sultan's capital. News comes through of new enemy troop concentrations at Kutha Gedhé.

13 August 1825

At ten o'clock a major attack led by Dipanagara's younger brother, Adinagara, begins against the Pakulaman, which is beaten off by a deft manoeuvre on the part of the European officers sent to defend it. That night a major alarm is raised in the Chinese quarter (*Kampung Cina*) because of what are thought to be supporters of Dipanagara sent to fire the place. Patrols are dispatched from the fort and the culprits seized, but these are later discovered to be servants of a local Chinese who started the fire accidentally.

14 August 1825

The day passes quietly despite the proximity of enemy troop concentrations at Kutha Gedhé and Krapyak immediately to the south of Yogya. In the evening, news comes through from Magelang that all recent attacks by Dipanagara's supporters have been repulsed and that the adjacent areas of Kaliheber and Ledhok have been cleared (above 10 August 1825). Dutch spies give detailed reports about the planned combined attack on Yogya of some Dipanagara's senior commanders scheduled for the following day. Appropriate defensive measures are taken.

15 August 1825

The Dutch and Javanese troops take up their assigned defensive positions as three main columns of Dipanagara's supporters begin their attack on the Pakualaman, the area of the bridge across the Codé river below the European quarter, and the south-eastern bastion of the *kraton*. They are repulsed with considerable loss of life, and the head of a slain *Demang* is severed and paraded on a bamboo pole. Only one European infantryman is wounded. Other enemy formations show themselves on the Gamping road and the main Surakarta highway, but they are kept at a distance by cannon and mortar fire. Some houses behind the Chinese quarter are set alight and enemy elements penetrate into the grounds of the Residency House from whence they are beaten off by withering infantry fire. At one o'clock all is over and Dipanagara's supporters withdraw to Kutha Gedhé and Krapyak. The rest of the day and the following night are quiet.

16 August 1825

Reports come through about the heavy losses sustained by Dipanagara's supporters in the previous day's attack (above 15 August 1825) and a Mangkunagaran courier gives news that the road from Surakarta to Gondhang (on the Yogya side of Klathèn) is clear with only a few hostile troops visible at Gondhang and Kalasan.

17 August 1825

Unconfirmed rumours relate the capture of one of Dipanagara's younger brothers (Adisurya) and the death from wounds of another (Adinagara). In the evening, there is a report that an enemy troop concentration at the

Reksanegaran is planning to make an attack on the Pakualaman from the north.

18 August 1825

Various 'vagabonds' are brought in suspected of being supporters of Dipanagara. They are chained up and horribly mistreated by the European officers and soldiers: one, referred to as a '*santri*' is punched, another kicked to death. Elsewhere, things are quiet. The calm before a storm, according to Payen, for a general attack is predicted to commence on 8 *Sura* (22 August 1825), a day supposedly designated in a dream by Sultan Agung (reigned, 1613-46) to Dipanagara as especially auspicious.

19 August 1825

The day is quiet, and the Indo-European citizenry of Yogya in need of supplies are allowed to go out into the surrounding countryside to forage under the protection of European troops. These latter are commanded by Captain Kumsius, the officer previously responsible for the ill-fated Magelang bulion convoy (above 23 July 1825). They sally out as far as Rajawinangun and return with some rice and livestock. Bitter complaints are made against Kumsius and some of the troops refuse to obey his orders. In the evening, a 350 man relief column arrives from Klathèn bringing supplies and much needed reinforcements including the rest of Mangkunagaran Legion. It seems that the Lieutenant Governor-General (De Kock) will also shortly arrive enabling offensive operations against Dipanagara to begin. There is news that major disturbances have affected the north coast where the main highway (*postweg*) between Tegal, Pekalongan and Semarang has been cut, forcing all postal dispatches to go by sea to Batavia. The Surakarta courts, however, are still tranquil and evince much 'good will'. Some of the Sunan's troops even participating with the Dutch around Klathèn in expelling a rebel *Tumenggung*.

20 August 1825

Spies report that the major attack will begin the following Monday (22 August 1825) under the personal command of Dipanagara. A new officer, Colonel Achenbach, assumes command of the 1,100 troops in Yogya, and defenses are taken in hand.

21 August 1825

Reports about Dipanagara's expected attack along the Gamping road continue to come through and there are conflicting suggestions about the size of his 'priestly' bodyguard. Since it seems that the action will commence that evening (the start of a new day by Javanese reckoning) the troops in Yogya go to their defensive positions where they will bivouac for the night. The officers in charge of each of these contingents are listed. Smissaert thinks it incumbent on himself to 'organise' the citizen militia in the European quarter and goes there with Achenbach and Chevallier to address them in a typically inept and contradictory fashion.

22 August 1825

The expected general attack does not materialise and at nine o'clock in the

morning the troops return to the fort from their various bivouacs. Noticing this, Dipanagara's supporters begin a series of skirmishes around the grounds of the Residency House, Jalan Maliabara and the Pakualaman in the afternoon. A Dutch cavalry sergeant is killed in the latter place and the enemy returns to sever his head which is borne away in triumph. At four o'clock they withdraw, but the clash of the *bendhé* (war alarms) are heard throughout the night sounding for new troop gatherings. Payen reflects that Dipanagara's supporters seem to be discouraged and that their recent attacks have been rather feeble affairs.

23 August 1825

One of Dipanagara's supporters is captured and gives news about his side's losses on the previous day (above 22 August 1825). His troop had intended to pillage the Chinese quarter (*Kampung Cina*) and had been promised a small reward by their chief. But they had been repulsed and only 500 men had remained out of the original 1,000 when they regrouped at Tegalreja. Many of the survivors were now sick for want of opium. Worse still, few of the porters (*kuli*) were now prepared to support them in battle. In view of this situation, Payen remarks that it is a pity that the Yogya garrison cannot go on the offensive and force the rebel princes to withdraw from Krapyak. When news comes through that another attack is expected at eleven o'clock the next day, Pakualam I asks for reinforcements causing Payen to reflect scathingly on his limited political and military use as an ally of the European Government.

24 August 1825

The birthday of the Dutch King (William I; reigned 1813-40) is celebrated and a small attack on the Pakualaman is beaten off.

25 August 1825

Two troop columns are sent out from Yogya to forage for food. They meet with little resistance and come back with some livestock and *padi*. The inept Captain Kumsius has again been in command of one of them, and it is reported that he has led his troops into a dangerous position in a village almost costing the life of a European officer.

26 August 1825

Another troop detachment is sent out with Chevallier to forage for supplies in a village high on the slopes of Mt. Merapi. Many Chinese, Indo-European and Javanese inhabitants of Yogya go with the column which is followed closely by about a thousand of Dipanagara's supporters. It brings back much rice.

27 August 1825

Payen starts drawing out a detailed map of the Yogya environs based on information provided by those with local knowledge, particularly regarding the strategically placed enemy headquarters at Selarong and the area between Bantul and the Kali Praga.

28-30 August 1825

A minor sortie takes place to forage for rice which meets with only limited

success. An N.C.O. is appointed as an officer. Small enemy formations near the Pakualaman and on the Gamping road and Jalan Maliabara are easily repulsed by cannon fire. It seems that more people are returning to Yogya, but the cost of basic necessities such as rice remain very high and far beyond the means of the poor.

31 August 1825

Payen continues to work on his map. A secret courier arrives bringing letters from Surakarta and Semarang: he relates that General Van Geen has arrived in the latter place and that a 500 strong force of Madurese has been sent out to the surrounding areas under Major De Bast. The return of (Major Sollewijn's) Borneo (Kalimantan) expeditionary force is every day awaited. There are also rumours that Dipanagara has forbidden all offensive attacks until the arrival of General De Kock and has blamed the firing of the Yogya environs on his brother, Adinagara.

2 September 1825

There is increasing misery in Yogya due to the lack of rice and other basic foodstuffs. Those in the *kraton* suffer particular privations and many die of hunger. Dipanagara is trying to starve Yogya into surrender by refusing access to the city for traders. Any who try to enter are killed by his troops.

3 September 1825

For want of other news, Payen cites verbatim an official Dutch letter from Smissaert to Pieter Le Clercq (Resident of Kedhu) dated 6 August 1825, and also quotes from a proclamation issued by the Yogya Resident in (?) mid-August offering a pardon to the chiefs and rank and file supporters of Dipanagara (see the English translations of these passages in ns. 199, 201-2 of the journal). These all highlight Smissaert's political naiveté and lack of understanding of Javanese society.

4 September 1825

To fill space, Payen again quotes from a dispatch of Smissaert to his colleague in Kedhu dated 23 August 1815 (see the English translation in n. 205). The Resident's claims made in this letter about his heavy domestic expenses for feeding the European and allied Javanese officers at his table, as well as providing for the upkeep of the royal family in the fort, are closely examined and found to be exaggerated. Payen points out that the musical dinners provided by the Resident afford a terrible contrast with the abject famine conditions in the *kraton* and the Chinese and European quarters of the town. Appeals by Ratu Agung to save some of the left-overs of the Resident's dinners to help feed the natural children of the fourth Sultan are callously rejected. Payen impatiently awaits General De Kock's arrival.

5 September 1825

Spies bring in reports that a 6-7,000 troop contingent from Surakarta and the Mangkunagaran have crossed Gunung Kidul and are poised to attack Imagiri to prevent the flight of Dipanagara's supporters seeking refuge in the southern hills. Various enemy commanders are also reported to have been directed to prevent the passage of a large relief column which is moving

along the Klathèn road. Five more people are reported dead from hunger in the *kraton*.

6 September 1825

A picket is sent out from the fort to guard the work party from the *Kepatihan* attempting to repair the vital water channel from the Kali Codé to the fort. Payen goes out with Chevallier and a military escort to make an inspection. A private letter addressed to a Chinese relates that his countrymen, who have barricaded themselves in at Jana (a major weaving centre) in eastern Bagelèn, are still holding out against Dipanagara's supporters but their situation is increasingly desperate. Some women report that an estate belonging to a Dutch land-renter at Pancu has been totally destroyed (see also above 7 August 1825).

7 September 1825

A Chinese arrives from Dipanagara's headquarters at Selarong where he was held as prisoner and reports that the prince has given orders not to attack Yogya again, but to see that no supplies get through (see also above 2 September 1825). He also relates that Dipanagara has fortified his position at Selarong with small cannon (one of which is a *pusaka*) and has declared that he will be prepared to die there if attacked. 152 of his followers have sworn to do likewise. Various villages, however, are refusing to obey him and are flying white flags as a sign of their resolve. These reports are independently verified by others who have come from Selarong. The price of rice continues to rise.

8-9 September 1825

A grass cutter taken prisoner by Dipanagara's supporters is released from detention in Selarong because he has declared himself to be a Surakarta inhabitant. Followers of the Dutch, the Chinese, Pakualam I, Mangkunagara II, Wiranagara and Danureja IV are, however, mercilessly decapitated. The main water-channel to the fort is again broken.

10 September 1825

Payen goes out from the fort with Chevallier and the Resident to witness the trial firing of a mortar grenade and they come under fire from Dipanagara's supporters. After an exchange of shots, the latter are eventually forced to retreat across the Kali Codé. Enemy formations are also sighted around the Pakualaman and have to be beaten back by artillery volleys and a cavalry charge. Payen discerns a greater resolve in their manner of fighting. It now seems that General De Kock will not arrive before 15 September. The situation in Yogya is ever more precarious.

11 September 1825

A new expedition is sent out to repair the water-channel from the Kali Codé, but Dipanagara's supporters are present in such numbers along the banks of the river that they have to abandon the work. In the evening, couriers from the Pakualaman accost two European officers and hand over letters from Klathèn and Semarang. These are eagerly distributed, but the news they contain is not encouraging: De Kock relates that he has again had to

delay his arrival because of 'grave events' and these are elucidated in a letter from the Semarang-based wife of one of the Yogya officers. She reports that the adjacent districts of Grobogan and Demak are in full revolt and that an expedition sent out from Semarang against the rebels has been worsted in battle (3 September) with serious loss of life. Even the town of Semarang is now threatened and the inhabitants are terrified. Reinforcements are urgently awaited.

12 September 1825

Various officers are reported sick in the Yogya garrison.

13 September 1825

An attack is made on a concentration of Dipanagara's supporters at his erstwhile *dalem* (residence) of Tegalreja and supplies of rice and salt are found in an adjacent village (? Tompéyan). They cannot be moved, however, for want of porters (*kuli*). On its retreat, the Dutch column is closely followed by the enemy and artillery has to be used to cover their passage. News comes through from Kedhu which is of a reassuring nature: a Dutch column under Colonel Cleerens has just arrived there after subduing the Jabarangkah area, Demak has been recaptured, and a rebel chief has been taken prisoner by the Assistant-Resident of Salatiga along with many small artillery pieces. Payen reflects that reinforcements and supplies must come through quickly because the Yogya garrison has now been reduced to living on a miserable fare of rice and coconut porridge (*bubur*).

14 September 1825

Three Surakarta *Tumenggung* in Yogya *en route* to their districts in the west (above 8 August 1825), are placed under arrest because it is said that they are planning to desert clandestinely. Payen finds this hardly surprising because of the famine conditions in the Sultan's capital. He also comments bitterly about the way in which some people, including European officers, are profiting from the general distress by acquiring precious goods for petty cash or lending money at grotesquely high rates of interest.

15 September 1825

The available supplies for the troops are now reported to be exhausted. Offensive actions by the enemy have, however, stopped and they seem to be restricting themselves to cutting the roads. There is a report that one of the Sultan's Indo-European (?) dragoons has been taken prisoner while out foraging, forced to wear Javanese dress and taken to Selarong.

16 September 1825

News comes through from Klathèn that a large relief column (above 5 September 1825) destined for Yogya has arrived, but that De Kock is unable to come to the Sultan's capital before 20 September. Letters from Semarang still speak of serious problems in the adjacent north coast areas. The ex-*Bupati* of Semarang, Suraadimanggala, has been placed under arrest and the news concerns Payen on account of his pupil Raden Saleh, who is closely related to the *Bupati*'s family. There is also much acrimony about a report which has appeared in the *Bataviasche Courant* (3 September 1825) regarding

the officers of the Yogya garrison who have distinguished themselves in the recent fighting. Prominent amongst these is the inept Kumsius (above 19 and 25 August 1825) who, it appears, has written long reports extolling his own exploits. Payen reflects bitterly on the advantages of this epistolary art in the Indies.

17 September 1825

An abortive attempt is made by Dipanagara's supporters to enter the European quarter at night. There are also rumours that some Chinese are siding with Dipanagara and that two have even conspired to assassinate the Yogya *Kapitan Cina*. Another letter arrives for Wiranagara from Dipanagara's younger brother, Adinagara, appealing to him in the name of Islam to make common cause with the prince. Wiranagara immediately hands the letter over to Smissaert with whom he has a long and unsatisfactory interview, the Resident still apparently reproaching him for the desertion of the Sultan's retainers. Smissaert writes to Chevallier instructing him to act as host at the Residency House while he is away at Jenu meeting De Kock.

18 September 1825

Payen draws up a fair copy of the map of the Yogya environs he has previously been working on (above 27 August 1825). A Surakarta chief who has been fighting with Dipanagara's forces around Gamping comes in to give himself up and swears allegiance to the Government on the *Qur'an*. The last supplies are distributed.

20 September 1825

The Yogya garrison wait around on tenterhooks for the cannon signal which will announce the arrival of the relief column at Jenu (just outside Yogya on the Surakarta road). At half past three in the afternoon this is eventually heard and a 400 strong detachment marches out of Yogya along Jalan Malia-bara to escort the column into the capital. Smissaert rides along behind, complete with a little sabre, like some latter-day Sancho Panza. De Kock is not with the relief column which is commanded instead by Colonel Cochius. A Dutch officer and the Surakarta *Tumenggung* of Kalikuning and Delanggu, who have distinguished themselves in the fighting around Klatèn (above 19 August 1825), are with the column which enters Yogya along the Pakualaman avenue. The various European officers and detachments are listed. Dispatches and letters brought by the column are distributed and Payen learns to his consternation that, because of economies, the Government has decided to abolish his post as Architect to the Governor-General.

21 September 1825

A personal letter from Governor-General Van der Capellen given to Payen by Cochius assures him that he will continue to be financially secure. Payen then prepares to make his departure from Yogya with Cochius the following day. He reflects on his recent experiences during the siege of Yogya calling his visit paradoxically the 'finest, most agreeable and most boring' that he has ever made in Java.

22 September 1825

After taking his leave of Chevallier and other friends, Payen sets out from Yogya with a column stretching for over three miles and numbering over 5,000 people (mostly civilians) guarded by strong military detachments. The journey out of the Sultan's capital via the royal retreats of Purwareja, Wana-catur and Pengawatreja to the main Surakarta highway at Nyamplung is described. Payen travels with some of the Sunan (Pakubuwana VI) of Surakarta's dragoons and comments on the scenes of devastation *en route* with many villages blazing or already destroyed by fire. His party rest for a moment on the banks of the Opak river to allow the rearguard of the column to catch up and the journey to Klathèn is resumed. At their destination, Payen is warmly received by his friend, Captain Sagermans, the military commandant at Klathèn.

23 September 1825

Three Surakarta princes with 2,000 men arrive in Klathèn and are joined in the evening by General Van Geen, Colonel Cochius and the Panembahan of Sumenep.

24 September 1825

Other high-ranking European officers arrive with large troop contingents. They are followed at seven o'clock in the morning by General De Kock with his *aides-de-camp* and MacGillavry, the Resident of Surakarta. The General gives Payen a private interview and they exchange information on political and military matters, Payen telling De Kock about what he has learnt during his long stay in Yogya and the latter outlining the nature of the combined operations which are shortly to take place against Dipanagara's headquarters at Selarong. Payen is also apprised of the fact that Smitsaert will shortly be suspended from his functions as Resident on account of his unsatisfactory conduct. The artist's map of the Yogya environs (above 27 and 31 August 1825) is scrutinised and found to accord well with intelligence received by De Kock in Surakarta. The unfortunate actions of one of De Kock's senior *aides-de-camp*, who commanded a column operating against Pangéran Sérang in the Demak area, are referred to. At five o'clock that afternoon, General Van Geen reviews the three detachments of the 600 strong relief column which is due to set out for Yogya the following day.

25 September 1825

The three detachments are described as they march out at intervals starting at three o'clock in the morning for Yogyakarta. General De Kock leaves Klathèn with the second detachment. At one o'clock two European officers proceed with 230 of the Sunan's troops to take up positions at Prambanan and Jenu to keep communications open with the Sultan's capital.

26-27 September 1825

Payen restores his health by eating heartily and makes a sketch of Klathèn. A dispatch from an officer in the eastern outlying (*mancanagara*) provinces relates that all the local Yogya *Bupati* with the exception of the two *Bupati Wedana* have joined Dipanagara. The news convinces Payen that he should hasten his departure for Surakarta and Semarang.

28 September 1825

Payen travels to Surakarta noticing the mutilated bodies and severed heads of some of Dipanagara's supporters *en route*, a spectacle which does not seem to inconvenience the local inhabitants. He arrives at midday at the Sunan's capital and is informed by the Secretary of the Residency, A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr., that Pangéran Sérang is poised to launch an attack on Ampèl. Letters from Yogya indicate that the offensive operations against Surakarta have not yet begun.

29 September 1825

With considerable trepidation, Payen sets out for Ampèl, stopping on the way to get news of the latest military developments from the commander of the Dutch fort at Bayalali. Nothing untoward occurs, however, and Payen notices that the markets in the villages *en route*, especially at Ampèl, are as crowded as ever. At Salatiga, he learns that the Assistant-Resident has left that morning with two small artillery pieces to reinforce the troops in the environs of Ampèl. He at last reaches Semarang where he notices numerous barricades, advanced defensive positions, and well turned out members of the citizen's militia mounting guard inside the town. There is alarming news about the situation in Kedhu, where, after the departure of Colonel Cleerens' column for Bagelèn, Dipanagara's supporters are again threatening Magelang. Payen reflects gloomily on this.

Plate 1. Charcoal drawing of Payen by his friend and artistic colleague, Jannes Theodoor Bik (1796-1875), made in 1819 when Payen was twenty-seven years old. The drawing bears the legend in Payen's hand *dessiné d'après nature par l'ami J. Bik à Sontje 1819* ('drawn from life by my friend J[annes] Bik at Sontje [? West Java] in 1819'). Inv. N° E/80 of the Payen drawing collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 2. Painting by Payen entitled '*Onweder aan de Zuidkust van Java*' (Storm on the South Coast of Java) executed after his return to Europe in 1826. From the Payen painting collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (Inv. N°200/2).
Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

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Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 3. Oil painting by Payen of Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen's (in office, 1816-26) carriage being drawn up Daendels' *postweg* (grand trunk road) with the aid of a yoke of buffalo in the Priangan highlands at Mt. Pola near Sumedang (see also above Plate B). From the Payen painting collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (Inv. N°200/22). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 4. Sketch of the Resident of Yogyakarta's country retreat at Bedhaya on the slopes of Mt. Merapi, possibly made by the Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta, R.C.N. d'Abo (in office, 1817-23), who built the house for his business associate, Huibert Gerard Nahuys van Burgst (1782-1858; in office as Res. of Yogyakarta, 1816-22). From Portfolio N° 22 of the Nahuys van Burgst private collection (*Bibliotheca Publica Latina* 616) of the Universiteits Bibliotheek, Leiden. Photograph by courtesy of the Leiden University Library.

Plate 5. Portrait of Hendrik Mauritz MacGillavry (1797-1835), who served as Acting Resident and Resident of Surakarta (with intermissions) from 1823 to 1827 and 1830 to 1834. Photograph by courtesy of the Stichting Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague.

Plate 6. Portrait of Pangéran Dipanagara (1785-1855) by an unknown Yogya kraton artist, probably made in 1807 on the occasion of his marriage to a daughter of the Yogyakarta Bupati of Panolan. This is the only known painting of the prince which shows him in the traditional Javanese head-dress (*blangkon*) and jacket (*surjan*), clothes which he later discarded during the Java War (1825-30) for religious garb (i.e. a turban, open-necked *santri* shirt, black 'priestly' jacket and tabard). Photograph by courtesy of Ibu Dr. Sahir, Kota Baru, Yogyakarta.

Plate 7. Javanese drawing of the battle between Dipanagara's forces and Dutch troops at Tegalreja on 20 July 1825. From KITLV Or.13 (*Buku Kedhung Kebo*), p.99 a-b. The Javanese legend below the drawing reads as follows: '*Pangran Dipanagara, wadya brandhal prang, wadya Kumpeni prang, Mayur Kapten*'. Photograph by courtesy of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 8. Sketch by Payen of a Javanese *Bupati* in daily dress. Original entitled, '*Chef de Régence*'. Inv. N°E/7 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 1 Charcoal drawing of Payen by his friend Jannes Theodoor Bik (1796-1875) made in 1819. Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 9. Sketch by Payen of an *alun-alun* (broad open space) in front of a *Bupati's* residence in Java. In the middle distance, servants can be seen transporting what appear to be instruments of a Javanese *gamelan* orchestra. Inv. N°B/63 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 10. Sketch by Payen of Chinese inhabitants of Java in the early nineteenth century showing them in their distinctive clothes with top-hats, umbrellas and long pig-tails. Inv. N°E/71 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

*Plate 11. Sketch by Payen of a Chinese habersashery seller and (hawker) his servant.
Inv. N°E/77 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of
the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.*

Plate 12. Oil portrait of Jonkheer Anthonië Hendrik Smissaert (1777-1832), who served as Resident of Yogyakarta from 1823 to 1825 and whom Payen portrayed as a bumbling fool in his journal. Photograph by courtesy of the Stichting Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague.

Plate 13. Sketch by Payen of a Central Javanese street scene with a weaver carrying his spinning wheel (jintra) on his back talking to a female jamu (herbal medicine) seller. Inv. N°E/76 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 14. Sketch by Payen of Central Javanese street musicians with drum (*kendhang*) and tambour (?). Inv. N°E/72 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

*Plate 15. Sketch by Payen of a Javanese bride and bridegroom in full marital attire.
Inv. N°E/2 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of
the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.*

Plate 16. Sketch by Payen of Governor-General van der Capellen's carriage with the horses at full trot. Inv. N° E/63 of the Payen drawing collection (Leiden). Photograph by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Plate 17. Facsimile of the first page of A.A.J. Payen's diary. Photograph by courtesy
of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

Journal de mon voyage à Jocja Karta en 1825

Lundi, 27 juin

Le gouvernement m'ayant confié la direction de la restauration de la maison du résident à Djocja [Yogya] que la direction du génie avait commencée sur mes plans, j'ai quitté Bandong [Bandung] ce matin pour aller reprendre les travaux de ce bâtiment arrêtés vers la fin de l'année passée. Arrivé à Chérifton [Cirebon] le soir à huit heures; continué ma route à dix heures.

Mardi, 28 juin

A quatre heures du matin, je suis arrivé à Tagal [Tegal], à midi à Pakalongan [Pekalongan] et à neuf heures à Samarang [Semarang].

Mercredi, 29 juin

J'avais quitté Samarang de très bonne heure mais, arrivé près de la poste de Djati Ngalé [Jati Ngalèh], un essieu de ma voiture se rompit. Je suis revenu pédestrement à Samarang où, ne pouvant me servir d'une voiture du gouvernement – toutes hors de service – Monsieur l'Assistant-Résident ⁽¹⁾ m'aida du conseil d'en louer une à mes frais avec laquelle je vins coucher à Salatiga. Je n'ai pu voir Monsieur Domis ⁽²⁾, il était indisposé.

Jeudi, 30 juin

Ce matin en passant à Ampèl, j'ai fait un croquis de la poste et des beaux waringin et kurra [kura] ⁽³⁾ qui l'entourent. A quatre heures je fus rendu à Djocja [Yogya] que je revois toujours avec plaisir et que je regarde comme un des séjours les plus agréables de Java. Monsieur le Résident était depuis longtemps à Bedoyo [Bedhaya] avec sa famille ⁽⁴⁾. Je fus reçu par l'ami Chevalier ⁽⁵⁾ que je revis avec plaisir, ainsi que quelques autres connaissances que j'ai dans cette résidence: mon compatriote Sagermans, capitaine Verboon, Boens [Bouwens van der Boijen] etc. ⁽⁶⁾. Je fus logé dans le Balé Kambang ⁽⁷⁾, appartement que j'avais occupé dans mes précédents voyages.

Vendredi, 1er juillet

Chevallier, voulant entretenir Monsieur le Résident du Kadoe [Kedhu] ⁽⁸⁾ avant le prochain départ de celui-ci pour Batavia, est parti ce matin pour Magellan [Magelang]. Monsieur le Résident Smissart [Smissaert] ⁽⁹⁾ est arrivé ce matin de Bedoyo à neuf heures; déjeuné chez Sisque Delattre ⁽¹⁰⁾. Nous employâmes une partie de la journée à prendre les mesures nécessaires à la continuation des bâties de la résidence et le soir nous partîmes pour Bedoyo où nous arrivâmes à la brune.

Samedi, 2 juillet

Bedoyo, que j'ai visité pour la première fois, est un joli casino sur la pente du Marah-Api [Gunung Merapi]. Le plan en est bien distribué. On y jouit d'une vue très vaste sur les environs de Djocja et qui s'étend jusqu'à la mer et les montagnes du Sud, (Gounong Kidoel [Gunung Kidul]) ⁽¹¹⁾. Pour ses environs ils sont insignifiants: le terrain est une cendre aride dans laquelle végètent les misérables plantations de café qui entourent cette campagne. En les considérant, on s'étonne du travail qu'elles ont dû coûter. Le Sultan qui les a rachetées n'en retirera jamais que du bois à brûler. Déjà, même une partie des arbres sont morts et Monsieur d'Abo ⁽¹²⁾ qui forma cet établissement fut trop heureux en le cédant d'une manière aussi avantageuse.

Le matin j'ai cherché quelque point d'où j'eus pu prendre une esquisse de ce lieu, mais inutilement. La température y est très douce et un des plus grands mérites de cette situation. Le soir, je revins à Djocja avec Messieurs Ditré [Dietrée] ⁽¹³⁾ et Boens van der Boyen, l'ami de la maison de Monsieur le Résident. Depuis mon dernier voyage il est devenu son parent ⁽¹⁴⁾, chose dont je n'ai jamais entendu parler auparavant. Cela me paraît aussi obscur que les motifs de son séjour à Java. Il m'a paru très lié ainsi que Monsieur Smissart avec un de mes anciens compagnons de collège, l'ex-capitaine Martini ⁽¹⁵⁾ qui habite toujours Djocja quoique ce séjour doive lui rappeler à chaque instant les circonstances désagréables qu'il y a éprouvées.

Dimanche, 3 juillet

Chevallier est de retour de Magellan [Magelang]. Nous fûmes dîner ensemble à Rodjo-Villagon [Rajawinangun] ⁽¹⁶⁾ où il habite depuis quelque temps. Vous voyez que je ne suis pas le seul qui aime cette charmante retraite.

Jeudi, 7 juillet

Ce jour nous avons repris les travaux à la maison du résident; il est vrai avec peu d'ouvriers car le bois de charpente nous manque. Il faut dire que de ce côté Monsieur ... [Smissaert ?] a beaucoup parlé, discuté et n'a rien fait du tout. Il justifie sa réputation ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Vendredi, 8 juillet

Ces jours passés, j'ai suivi Chevallier à Rodjo Villangon: nous y allons

après quatre heures. Souvent quelques amis viennent y partager un bon dîner sans prétention. La soirée se passe en conversation. Chevallier a fait deux voyages bien intéressants dans les provinces intérieures des empires de Soura Karta [Surakarta] et Djocja ⁽¹⁸⁾. Les récits qu'il m'a fait des rapports, surtout ceux du dernier, excitent les larmes de la pitié et de l'indignation; et cependant les gazettes sont remplies de louanges sur la prospérité croissante, fruit de nos institutions. Et modestement écrits par les auteurs, on y cite l'augmentation des fermes quadruplées en quelques années comme une preuve du progrès du commerce et de l'agriculture. Oui ces fermes sont augmentées, mais comment ? ... par les plus horribles vexations des brigands chinois [qui] sont parvenus à payer cette preuve de prospérité. Celui qui a parcouru les campagnes désolées par leurs crimes l'a dit ... et on ne l'a cru. Il parlait avec prévention [disait-on] et les meurtres prouvés – femmes de chefs dépouillées, insultées en présence de l'époux; des malheureux déchirés par des chiens – ont été regardés comme des exagérations... la justice tarde bien !

Samedi, 9 juillet

Nous avons été ce matin, avec Chevallier, visiter plusieurs ponts qu'il fait réparer entre Djocja et Klaten [Klathèn]. Différents Tomogons [Tumenggung] sont chargés de ces divers ouvrages. A Kali Opa [Kali Opak] nous avons trouvé Tomumgong Wiro Ngoro [Tumenggung Wiranagara] commandant des troupes du Sultan ⁽¹⁹⁾. Comme nous approchions de Kalassan [Kalasan], nous vîmes venir à nous une centaine d'hommes armés de piques et de fusils à la tête desquels se trouvaient quatre ou cinq Chinois ⁽²⁰⁾. Ces messieurs allaient attaquer un village voisin dont quelques habitants avaient évité de passer par les chemins où sont placés les péages. Cette particularité vient à l'appui de ce que j'ai dit ci-dessus, et si de pareils excès ont lieu aux portes de la capitale [i.e. Yogyakarta], que ne peuvent se permettre de semblables coquins dans les provinces éloignées ! En vérité, ce que j'ai écrit n'est rien en comparaison de tout ce qui s'est passé depuis quelques années dans ce beau pays. Il faudrait une autre plume que la mienne pour décrire les vols, les friponneries de tout genre que j'ai entendu citer. Personne n'a été puni: ils jouissent tranquillement du fruit de leurs rapines.

Au pont près de Klaten, nous avons pris le thé avec le Raden Adipati Danureja ⁽²¹⁾, un des plus beaux Javans que j'ai vu. Il a été régent de Djipang [Japan: Majakerta]. On le dit affectionné au gouvernement. Il n'en est pas de même de celui dont j'ai parlé plus haut [i.e. Wiranagara]. Il a inspiré de la défiance à beaucoup d'Européens.*

Mardi, 12 juillet

Le prince Manko Ngoro [Mangkunagara]⁽²²⁾ ayant offert au gouvernement des bois de charpente qui viennent de ses forêts, nous sommes partis ce matin, M. le secrétaire, Ditré et moi pour Soura Karta. A la poste, passé Klaten, je

* Payen has written incorrectly, «le Raden Adipati Tomogong Dano Ridjo».

crois qu'elle se nomme [salaran] ⁽²³⁾, pendant que l'on changeait nos chevaux, je regardais passer les Javans portant des denrées à quelques bazars [pasar] voisins; une jeune fille, appartenant probablement à la poste, percevait quelque chose des passants: du sucre d'areng [arèn], des fruits ou de l'argent qu'elle plaçait dans un tronc de bambou. Je fis remarquer cette particularité à mon compagnon de voyage [Chevallier], qui devina de suite de quoi il s'agissait. Il interrogea le mandour [mandur] de poste et il se trouva que c'était une imposition – salarang [salaran] – particulière que ces messieurs avaient instituée et percevaient à leur profit sur l'exemple que leur avait donné certain soldat pensionné surveillant des postes. Chevallier le chassa de suite.

Mercredi, 13 juillet

Je me suis occupé cette journée des achats de bois qui m'ont amené à Soura Karta. Nous avons visité, M. MacGillavry ⁽²⁴⁾, Chevallier et moi, le Pangueran Manko Ngoro [Pangéran Mangkunagara]. Par l'assistance de Monsieur le second résident [MacGillavry], nous espérons obtenir ce que nous désirons.

Jeudi, 14 juillet

Revenu de Soura Karta, j'ai trouvé à Djocja le Sieur Jekel [Bekel ?], le piqueur, que l'on m'a promis maintenant que mon voyage touchera à sa fin.

Vendredi, 15 juillet

Nous avons repris nos douces habitudes et nos dîners du soir à Rodjo Villangon. Notre société s'est augmentée par l'arrivée de M. de Haan ⁽²⁵⁾, qui vient passer quelques jours avec nous.

Samedi, 16 juillet

Ce soir tranquillement à Rodjo Villangon. Chevallier reçut une lettre particulière de Monsieur MacGillavry, résident provisoire de Soura Karta. Elle avertissait celui-ci, que le Panguerang de Djocja – Dipo Ngoro [Dipanagara] – l'un [f.2] des tuteurs du jeune sultan ⁽²⁶⁾, rassemblait chez lui des gens armés et se préparait à la guerre. Notre ami monta de suite à cheval et se rendit à Djocja. A onze heures il était de retour. Selon ce qu'il m'a dit, il avait chargé le secrétaire du Radèn Adipati ⁽²⁷⁾ de le rappeler de suite, pendant que le nommé Prawirad-medjo [Prawiradimeja] ⁽²⁸⁾, homme de confiance du Rychbesturde [Rijksbestuurder] ⁽²⁹⁾, fut envoyé pour savoir si le Panguerang Dipo Ngoro était chez lui et le prendre en surveillance. Monsieur Wiseman [Wieseman] ⁽³⁰⁾ fut aussi averti de prendre les mesures nécessaires à la tranquillité du kraton.

Dimanche, 17 juillet

Une pluie qui n'a pas fini m'a cloué toute la journée dans mon Balé Kambang. Je n'ai pu gagner notre ermitage [i.e. Rajawinangun] et me suis couché de [bonne heure] pour faire trêve à mon ennui.

Lundi, 18 juillet

Hier Pra-wirad-medjo a rapporté que le prince Dipo Nogoro se conduisait comme un fol, allant presque nu, mais jusqu'à ce moment il n'avait près de lui aucun homme armé. Cet homme est resté chargé de surveiller avec attention la demeure de ce prince. Ce matin, Monsieur le résident et sa famille est [sont] arrivé[s] de Bedoyo. Je me trouvais en ce moment avec notre ami [Chevallier]. Nous fûmes chez le Radèn Adipati [Danureja] où nous trouvâmes assemblés plusieurs Panguerang [et] Tomogongs qui venaient lui faire rapport des ordres qu'avait donnés le prince Dipo Nogoro.

Depuis quelque temps (trois mois) le résident avait été averti que ce prince s'était retiré dans une grotte ⁽³¹⁾, qu'il avait fait des prières et des jeûnes extraordinaires selon l'usage javan lorsqu'il pratique le tapa ⁽³²⁾ qui a pour but d'obtenir de la divinité quelque grâce particulière ou le succès d'une grande entreprise. A la dernière fête de Pouassa [Puwasa] ⁽³³⁾, il s'était comporté très grossièrement envers le résident ne lui adressant, ainsi qu'à son secrétaire, la parole qu'avec les expressions les plus basses de la langue javane. Ce dernier le lui avait même reproché cette manière de s'exprimer. On m'a dit que dans cette fête ou une autre, il s'était oublié jusqu'à appeler le résident «tête chauve» en lui proposant de boire avec lui ! Le Raden Adipati à cette occasion s'était plaint de son insolence.

L'état des choses ayant été examiné par le résident, le Raden Adipati et les régents, le résident se décida à envoyer vers le Pangueran Dipo Nogoro deux envoyés du Raden Adipati, munis d'une lettre ⁽³⁴⁾. Pendant cette ambassade, l'ami Chevallier, accompagné de Ditré translateur pensionné, fut à cheval examiné les environs du kraton [i.e. dalem] ou demeure du prince [Dipanagara]. Ils ne purent remarquer aucun mouvement, quoique les envoyés à leur retour lui firent le rapport que de l'intérieur de son kraton [dalem], ils avaient remarqué plus de gens armés qu'il n'y en avait ordinairement; que le prince avait reçu la lettre et l'avait lue, mais refusait de donner une réponse par écrit.

Dans la soirée, l'autre tuteur du sultan – Pangueran Manko Boumi [Pangéran Mangkubumi] – vint apprendre au résident que le Prince Dipo Nogoro avait de mauvaises intentions, qu'il avait employé tous les moyens possibles pour l'en dissuader, mais sans succès. Celui-ci [i.e. Smissaert] le traita durement et lui répondit qu'il serait responsable de ce que Dipo Nogoro entreprendrait et qu'en cas de troubles, il le ferait arrêter lui-même ⁽³⁵⁾. Manko Boumi promit au résident de retourner chez Dipo Nogoro demain le matin [i.e. le 19 juillet 1825], et de venir lui rendre compte de cette visite.

Sur ces entrefaites, on reçut la réponse évasive du prince Dipo Nogoro à la lettre que le résident lui avait écrite ce matin pour lui demander raison de sa conduite. Elle faisait voir au résident que les mesures qu'il avait prises étaient bien insuffisantes. Chevallier offrit à plusieurs reprises d'aller lui-même parler à Dipo Nogoro, ce que l'on ne trouva à propos d'accepter parce que l'on regardait toute cette affaire avec trop peu d'importance. Comme je l'ai dit, cette incon séquence avait déjà fait tourner en badinage les avis que l'on recevait depuis quelque temps, du changement qui s'était opéré dans la conduite du prince séditieux.

Mardi, 19 juillet

Dans la matinée, nous apprîmes que des gens armés s'assemblaient chez Dipo Ngoro et que ses femmes et ses enfants avaient été conduits à Selarong ⁽³⁶⁾. Panguerang Manko Boumi vint rendre compte au résident que Dipo Ngoro se conduisait comme un insensé, disant qu'il avait assemblé des hommes armés parce qu'il savait que le résident avait l'intention de le faire arrêter; dans un autre moment, parce qu'il voulait la destitution du Raden Adipati ⁽³⁷⁾. Il était facile de voir que toutes ces réponses n'étaient que des moyens pour gagner du temps et rassembler plus de monde. Le Raden Adipati donna alors le conseil de le faire arrêter par quelques troupes européennes. Le reste du jour se passa en pourparlers inutiles sans qu'il ne fût pris aucun parti. Les intentions du prince séditieux n'étaient plus douteuses. Déjà plusieurs Javans cherchaient à mettre à couvert leurs effets les plus précieux; tout se préparait à la guerre ⁽³⁸⁾. La crainte qu'inspirait la responsabilité envers le gouvernement empêchait que l'on ne prenne une mesure décisive. Pour moi, je suis de l'avis de notre ami [Chevallier]: je la risquerais.

Mercredi, 20 juillet

L'intention que notre féal Chevallier avait montrée d'aller lui-même visiter avec Manko Boumi, n'eut pas de suite. Il paraît que Manko Boumi craignait que cette visite n'eût des suites funestes pour mon ami puisqu'il engagea le résident à s'opposer à cette démarche. Le Tommungong Wiro Ngoro [Tumenggung Wiranagara], commandant les gardes du sultan, a fait demander des munitions pour ses troupes pour pouvoir maintenir par la force l'ordre nécessaire dans le kraton ⁽³⁹⁾.

Le prince Manko Boumi a été appelé par le résident qui lui enjoint de faire changer de desseins à Dipo Ngoro. Cette manière menaçante de lui répéter qu'il serait responsable des troubles qui pourraient arriver, eut des suites très désavantageuses pour nous. Manko Boumi nous quitta et alla joindre Pangueran Dipo Ngoro qu'il ne quitta plus et près duquel les rassemblements d'hommes armés augmentaient à vue d'oeil. Tommungong Sinto Ngoro [Tumenggung Sindunagara] fut encore envoyé avec une lettre. Ce message n'eut pas plus de succès que le premier. Comme le bruit courait que l'intention du Panguerang Dipo Ngoro était de se rendre maître du jeune sultan, la Ratou Agon [Ratu Agung] sa grand-mère, fit demander que l'on cherchât les moyens les plus expéditifs pour arrêter la sédition devenue bien plus dangereuse depuis la défection de Manko Boumi ⁽⁴⁰⁾. Celui qui connaît l'obéissance passive des Javans pour leurs chefs pourra concevoir la conséquence d'une révolte à la tête de laquelle se trouvaient les deux premiers princes de la famille du sultan, ses tuteurs, et en possession depuis quatre ans d'ordonner en souverain, et qui n'avaient jamais rendu compte des revenus du sultan mineur qu'ils avaient toujours perçus ⁽⁴¹⁾.

On se décida enfin à quitter le malheureux système d'hésitation que l'on avait tenu jusqu'aujourd'hui et à recourir à la force militaire. On assemble les prajurit [prajurit] ou garde javane du sultan, vingt-cinq hommes de sa garde euro-

péenne à cheval, commandés par le lieutenant Wiseman, vingt-cinq hussards aux ordres du lieutenant Thiery [de Thierry] ⁽⁴²⁾, *un peloton [f.3]* de flanqueurs avec le lieutenant Vanderplats [Van der Plas] ⁽⁴³⁾ et deux pièces de canons dirigées par l'officier tout juste, Mossel ⁽⁴⁴⁾. Cette colonne partit, dirigée par Chevallier et Thiery, pour attaquer le kraton [dalem] de Dipo Nogoro ⁽⁴⁵⁾, situé au milieu de rizières et où l'on ne pouvait parvenir que par un chemin, que probablement à dessein ce prince n'avait jamais voulu faire réparer ⁽⁴⁶⁾.*

A quelque distance du kraton [dalem], la colonne s'arrêta. Tommogong Sinto Nogoro rapporta un refus écrit de Dipo Nogoro de se rendre. Les rebelles étaient placés en grand nombre devant la demeure du prince. Chevallier trouva un Javan assez hardi pour aller encore leur proposer un accommodement. Il fût insulté et désarmé. Ils commencèrent à se servir de leurs frondes et à lancer des pierres et des boules de verre [fer ?]. Notre ami [Chevallier] s'avança seul [et] leur cria qu'il ne voulait que la paix, mais on ne lui répondit que par des huées et des pierres. Alors il permit à Monsieur Thiery de commander l'attaque. Elle commença par deux coups de canon qui tuèrent quelques hommes à la porte du kraton [dalem]. Les flanqueurs firent feu : la tourbe se dissipa. Les princes abandonnèrent le kraton [dalem]. Alors la cavalerie d'un côté, l'infanterie de l'autre, tourna [tournèrent] le dessa [désa] qui l'entourait ⁽⁴⁷⁾. On aperçut tous les rebelles qui se retiraient lentement au travers des rizières. Pangueran Dipo Nogoro était peu éloigné, monté sur un beau cheval noir, superbement harnaché. Il était vêtu tout en blanc selon le costume arabe ⁽⁴⁸⁾. Le schall [châle] de son turban voltigeait au gré du vent pendant qu'il faisait piaffer son cheval. Les rênes attachées à sa ceinture, il tандаquait ⁽⁴⁹⁾ au milieu d'une troupe de ses affidés armés de lances. Chevallier et Thiery le reconnurent et chargèrent sur lui, mais ils se trouvèrent bientôt embourbés dans les rizières et ne purent l'atteindre quoiqu'ils l'eussent approché à la portée du pistolet. Le prince, profitant d'un sentier sur lequel il se trouvait, parvint à s'échapper ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Plusieurs rebelles furent tués. De notre côté, nous ne perdîmes qu'un maréchal des logis de la garde du sultan et trois hommes du même corps qui furent blessés de coups de lance. Le terrain ne permettant pas à notre faible colonne de poursuivre l'ennemi, vers les cinq heures elle rentra au fort où je pris aussi mon quartier chez l'ami Sagermans, ne me souciant pas de la grande maison [i.e. la résidence] où tout était dans le trouble et la confusion.

Jeudi, 21 juillet

Ce matin les princes et régents ont été assemblés pour choisir un tuteur au sultan: Pangueran Adi Nogoro [Pangéran Adinagara]. Mais pendant la nuit passée, il avait la garde au kraton et il l'avait quitté avec le prince Sourio-dipouro [Suryadipura] pour se joindre aux deux rebelles ⁽⁵¹⁾. A la place de discuter sur ce nouvel incident, la séance se passa en santés et toasts que l'on porta

* Payen has made a mistake here in the folio numbering of his MS since he has put the number on the reverse of this page instead of at the front.

au jeune sultan, et nous étions avec De Haan à voir cette ridicule séance qui nous parut des plus déplacées dans la circonstance où nous nous trouvions ⁽⁵²⁾. Il était facile de voir quelle impression cela faisait sur les Javans et surtout la défiance que l'on affectait de leur montrer. Pour réparer un peu ces bévues et rassurer la famille du sultan, Chevallier a jugé à propos d'aller s'établir dans le kraton où il a passé la nuit ⁽⁵³⁾.

Vendredi, 22 juillet

Ces princes et régents furent encore rassemblés et on leur donna connaissance d'une proclamation du sultan revêtue du sceau de l'état, qui déclarait déchu de leurs droits les princes séditeux, Dipo Nogoro, Manko Boumi, Adi Nogoro et Sourio-di-pouro. Cette proclamation fut ensuite lue publiquement dans la grande allée [Jalan Maliabara] vis-à-vis le fort. Je me trouvais près de la porte lorsque le résident rentra. Derrière lui suivaient gravement quelques oppassers [officiers de service] avec des verres et des bouteilles. Peut-être avait-on en vue d'abreuver l'auditoire, singulier moyen de travailler les esprits ! La manière dont Monsieur... [Smissaert] voulait engager les princes et régents à rester fidèles au sultan au gouvernement mérite d'être remarquée. Il m'a dit lui-même qu'il leur avait tenu le discours suivant : «Je sais bien qu'il vous est facile de massacrer tous les Européens qui se trouvent ici puisqu'ils étaient mille Javans contre un, mais si cela arrivait le gouvernement en enverrait d'autres». On peut juger quel effet un pareil discours dut produire, prononcé au milieu des Javans et des Européens tant militaires qu'autres ! Il y avait de quoi décourager les plus résolus ⁽⁵⁴⁾.

La Ratou Agon ayant paru désirer que l'on prît des otages pour plus de sûreté: les Pangueran Soerio bronto [Suryabrangta] fils [frère cadet] * de Dipo Nogoro, Prawiro Diningrat [Prawiradiningrat], frère de la Ratou Agon dont le fils avait suivi les rebelles, et le Radèn Mas Tomogong, frère de la Ratou Kentjono [Ratu Kencana], furent conduits au fort ⁽⁵⁵⁾. Dans l'après-midi arriva le colonel Von Jett ⁽⁵⁶⁾, commandant de la 2ème division militaire, accompagné de Monsieur le capitaine Keer ⁽⁵⁷⁾, ingénieur, avec quelques troupes d'infanterie et cavalerie qu'envoya à notre aide le prince Ario Manko Nogoro [Aria Mangkunagara] ⁽⁵⁸⁾. Chevallier est encore allé coucher au kraton où sa présence inspire plus de tranquillité.

Samedi, 23 juillet.

Nous avions la nouvelle qu'une compagnie de flanqueurs et vingt-cinq canonniers venant de Samarang, traversaient le Kadou pour venir nous renforcer ⁽⁵⁹⁾. Le matin, le bruit se répandit que ces troupes avaient été attaquées. On envoya au-devant d'elles le lieutenant Sisque Delatre [Delattre] avec un peloton de hus-

* Payen has written «fils de Dipo Negoro», see ns. 97-98.

sards et quelque infanterie. Des cent vingt-cinq hommes que le capitaine Komsius [Kumsius] ⁽⁶⁰⁾ commandait, il ne trouva que 80 hommes avec le capitaine et un lieutenant, le reste était perdu ou massacré. Il avait été obligé d'abandonner aussi 28.000 fl. en argent dont nous avons le plus grand besoin et qu'on avait mis sous sa garde au Magellan. Delatre chargea les rebelles qui prirent la fuite. Il poussa quatre piliers plus loin, trouva les restes d'une des caisses qui contenaient l'argent et ramena trois blessés de l'arrière-garde de Komsius. Celui-ci a déclaré s'être trouvé à Pissangan [Pisangan] entre quatre feux et avoir été obligé d'abandonner son arrière-garde et l'argent. Cependant il n'a aucun blessé: les soldats qu'il a amenés n'ont pas brûlé une amorce et vingt-cinq husards ont dispersé les rebelles. Cet officier aura de la peine à se disculper. On dit qu'il a marché sans précaution et que son arrière-garde était dispersée. Cela nous coûte 45 hommes et le lieutenant Bogart [Boogert] ⁽⁶¹⁾; le bombardier Rauwé a aussi été massacré dans cette rencontre.

La nouvelle de ce malheur augmente notre confusion [et] on ne sait auquel entendre. Les ordres ont cependant été donnés pour la marche d'une expédition que nous devons faire demain vers Bantoul [Bantul] où les princes rebelles paraissent avoir établi le centre de leur rébellion ⁽⁶²⁾.

Dimanche, 24 juillet

A six heures une colonne, composée de troupes européennes et d'une partie de la Légion du prince Ario Manko Nogoro ⁽⁶³⁾, deux pièces d'artillerie, et fermée [par] [f.4] quelques régents et leurs troupes, quitta le fort et se dirigea vers Bantoul.

Les brigands avaient détruit les ponts sur toute la route et fait des coupures garnies de bambous pointus. Dans tous les villages flottait le drapeau de la révolte ⁽⁶⁴⁾. Mais quelques volées de canon suffirent pour dissiper les attroupements composés, la plupart, de gens armés de piques, de bâtons et surtout de frondes; les armes à feu étaient en très petit nombre et l'on n'a aperçu aucune pièce d'artillerie quelconque ⁽⁶⁵⁾. Les rebelles se retiraient à travers les rizières où il était impossible de les atteindre, mais ils se montraient bientôt sur nos derrières rentrant dans les villages que nous leur avions fait abandonner.

Arrivé à Bantoul, on résolut de se retirer pour ne point fatiguer les troupes inutilement, puisque l'ennemi, ne tenant sur aucun point, ne permettait pas de l'atteindre et d'en venir aux mains avec lui. Dans cette retraite, les rebelles suivirent la colonne et les troupes du prince Ario Manko Nogoro* furent toujours en tirailleurs: ils se comportèrent avec beaucoup de valeur et rivalisèrent avec nos flanqueurs européens ⁽⁶⁶⁾. Dans l'après-midi toute la colonne rentra sans avoir fait aucune perte.

Première scène d'ivrognerie ⁽⁶⁷⁾; résolution d'aller au kraton accompagné du major, fils de Manko Nogoro ⁽⁶⁸⁾; crainte et mécontentement que cette manière d'agir excite: où diable va-t-on pêcher de pareilles gens ?

* Payen has written «les troupes du Prince Ario Manko boumi».

Lundi, 25 juillet

Ce matin les brigands se présentèrent vers la pyramide ⁽⁶⁹⁾ qui termine la grande avenue de Djocja [Jalan Maliabara]. Deux pelotons de hussards aux ordres des lieutenants [De] Burbure ⁽⁷⁰⁾ et Sagermans avec quelques chasseurs du Manko Nogoro sont envoyés contre eux. Les rebelles furent chargés, repoussés et laissèrent quelques-uns des leurs sur le carreau. Cette canaille fuit comme des étourneaux, mais ils harcèlent et nous craignons la famine ⁽⁷¹⁾. Cela cause beaucoup plus de confusion dans le fort qu'au dehors. Même conduite d'un personnage principal [le colonel Von Jett]: toute la journée dans un état d'ivresse⁽⁷²⁾. Le soir il voulut encore aller au kraton. Il ne pouvait parler [et] il fallut l'empêcher de sortir, ce qui eut lieu à la porte du fort. Un autre personnage [le résident Smissaert?] perdait ce qu'il lui restait de cervelle. Toutes ces scènes se passaient devant la garnison. Si notre ennemi avait un peu de courage, il pourrait tout entreprendre. De notre côté les autorités montrent à ceux des princes qui nous sont restés fidèles, une défiance capable de causer une entière défection.*

Mardi, 26 juillet

*Plusieurs Javans sont passés à l'ennemi. Le major Wiro Nogoro continue à maintenir l'ordre dans le kraton. La Ratou Agon, fâchée de l'infidélité des princes, demande que l'on fasse arrêter ceux qui étaient restés, ce qui se trouva sanctionné par le prince Pakou Alam [Pakualam] ⁽⁷³⁾. La Ratu Agon demanda aussi à entrer dans le fort avec le jeune sultan. La crainte qu'il ne s'en suivît quelque trouble dans le kraton, qu'il nous importe beaucoup de conserver, ne permit pas d'accepter cette proposition. Cette preuve de confiance [et] de fidélité fit enfin prendre le parti d'envoyer dans le kraton une garde de flanqueurs et de soldats de la Légion de Manko Nogoro, je dois dire à la louange de Chevallier que** cette mesure fut prise à la suite de ses instances réitérées. La Ratou Agon et le Tomogong Wiro Nogoro reçurent des lettres du Panguerang Adi Nogoro qui prend le titre de chef de guerre des brigands et rebelles (ketjous [kècu] et kraman, ⁽⁷⁴⁾) par lesquelles, après avoir déclaré qu'il n'en voulait en aucune manière au jeune sultan, il les engageait à se confier à lui et à chasser les Hollandais du pays. Les mêmes propositions furent aussi faites au prince Pakou Alam; on y joignait des menaces au cas qu'il n'adhérât pas de suite au parti des rebelles ⁽⁷⁵⁾. Tomogong Major Wiro Nogoro répondit pour la Ratou Agon et lui, qu'il ne voulait entendre aucune proposition de la part des rebelles et que s'ils osaient se présenter devant le kraton, ils seraient reçus avec des piques et des baïonnettes.*

Dès que les troupes européennes furent entrées au kraton, la confiance et la tranquillité s'y rétablirent: les soldats de Manko Nogoro furent placés sur les

* Payen has inserted the following in the margin of diary opposite this account of the skirmish which took place in Yogya on the morning of 25 July 1825: «a péri dans cette escarmouche: le brigadier Adders des hussards a été tué... et ce fameux Bayard de Sisque ⁽⁷⁶⁾ a été blessé d'un coup de feu au poitrail».

remparts avec les pradjourit du sultan. Dans toutes les circonstances on doit donner des louanges à Monsieur Wiseman, lieutenant, commandant la garde européenne du sultan ⁽⁷⁷⁾, pour la sagesse qu'il montra. Ce soir il tomba dans nos mains quelques brigands; parmi eux se trouvait le Patti [Patih] du prince ⁽⁷⁸⁾.

Le major Sourio-di-pouro des troupes de Manko Ngoro, lui-même les conduisit* hors du fort où on les avait interrogés. Ce Patti portait une nomination de chef d'insurrection.

Mercredi, 27 juillet

Les insurgés, enhardis par notre timidité, nous serrent de très près. On a pris des mesures insuffisantes pour les éloigner et leur audace s'accroît. Nous n'avons plus aucune communication: les ponts sur les grandes routes de Soura Karta et du Kadou sont brûlés et les routes coupées ⁽⁷⁹⁾.

A dix heures du matin, un coup de pistolet ayant attiré l'attention vers la maison du lieutenant Thiery, on trouva que ce malheureux ami avait mis fin à son existence sans que l'on connût le motif qui ait pu porter cet officier d'une bravoure reconnue à commettre cette lâcheté. Il était incommodé [?] depuis quelques jours. Des propos incohérents qu'il tint quelques instants avant sa mort doivent induire à croire qu'il se donna la mort dans un moment de délire. Vous pouvez juger si cette perte ajouta aux chagrins que nous éprouvons de voir toute chose prendre une si pitoyable tournure. Le désordre toujours croissant que Thiery avait sous les yeux a pu influencer sur sa funeste résolution ⁽⁸⁰⁾.

Jeudi, 28 juillet

L'épouvante a peu diminué: il se trouvait le matin quelque monde sur le bazar.

Comme l'on ne peut plus faire passer de lettres même avec des koulis [kuli] déguisés, le major, fils de Manko Ngoro, proposa d'envoyer les lettres à Soura Karta par un détachement de 25 chasseurs et 12 dragons de sa Légion. Les deux officiers qui se chargèrent de cette expédition se nommaient ... ⁽⁸¹⁾ et Siwongso [Radèn Mas Suwongsa] ⁽⁸²⁾. [Ils] partirent vers les neuf heures du matin, mais le bruit s'est déjà répandu que près de Kalassan ils ont été attaqués et presque tous massacrés.

A huit heures du soir nous entendîmes une fusillade et quelques coups de canon du côté de Rodjo Villangon. Un moment après, le lieutenant Abell ⁽⁸³⁾ se présenta avec quelques hussards: il nous apprit que Monsieur le colonel Cochiu ⁽⁸⁴⁾ était à peu de distance avec un convoi. On fit de suite sortir un détachement avec des outils et des planches pour raccommoder un pont qui les arrêtait ⁽⁸⁵⁾. A neuf heures le convoi arriva: il était composé de vingt-cinq hussards, la compagnie de Madurais du capitaine Monoie [Monnoije] de Bruxelles ⁽⁸⁶⁾, 200 hommes de Manko Ngoro avec deux pièces d'artillerie volante ⁽⁸⁷⁾, 75 chevaux chargés de riz et fl. 10.000 en argent. Cette colonne commença à

* Payen has written «les lui-même les conduisit».

rencontrer l'ennemi aux environs de Klaten où ils avaient brûlé le Gladak [gladhag]⁽⁸⁸⁾ [de] Djocja et les maisons environnantes. Près de Brambanan [Prambanan] [f.5] il y eut encore une escarmouche, mais l'ennemi s'enfuit de suite et se tint toujours à telle distance qu'il ne fut pas possible de lui faire beaucoup de mal.

Vendredi, 29 juillet

Cette journée fut donnée aux troupes pour se reposer. L'on se propose de rétablir la correspondance avec Klaten et Soura Karta par le moyen d'une colonne mobile⁽⁸⁹⁾. Ce que je ne comprends pas bien, mais ce que je sais, c'est que plusieurs de ces messieurs ont furieusement envie de nous quitter, voire s'ils nous reviendront ! La colonne se composera de cinquante hussards du 7ème [régiment des hussards] sous les ordres du S.L. [second lieutenant] Mathot⁽⁹⁰⁾, cent cinquante hommes d'infanterie de la Légion du Pangueran Ario Manko Nogoro et 80 cavaliers de la même Légion.

Samedi, 30 juillet

Au point du jour, la colonne partit en suivant la grand route de Solo [Sala]. Monsieur le colonel Von Jett et le major Paris de Montaigne⁽⁹¹⁾ ont profité de cette occasion pour nous quitter. Nous leur avons souhaité un bon voyage. Mon ami Sagermans, qui a enfin reçu son brevet de capitaine, commandant de Klaten, nous [a] aussi quittés. Il m'a laissé dame Catherine et tout son ménage⁽⁹²⁾. Nous avons encore été inquiétés par les barandals [brandhal]⁽⁹³⁾, mais ils ont bientôt été repoussés.

Dimanche, 31 juillet

Quelques brigands ont été pris et abandonnés à la justice du sultan.

Lundi, 1er août

Nous avons aujourd'hui de l'inquiétude. Le bruit courait que l'ennemi voulait attaquer le kraton. On prit les mesures nécessaires. Vers quatre heures après-midi, les brigands se montrèrent du côté de l'obélisque [i.e. Tugu] à l'extrémité de l'avenue. Messieurs Keer et Monoie y marchèrent avec les Madurais et une pièce de canon. On leur coucha sur le carreau plusieurs des leurs; un fusilier et un tambour des Madurais furent blessés. Pendant ce temps, quelques scélérats mirent le feu aux maisons de Dano Ridjan [Danurejan] près de la demeure du Raden Adipati⁽⁹⁴⁾. L'incendie fut violent. Du reste c'est un spectacle que nous voyons tous les jours: ils brûlent leur propre maison⁽⁹⁵⁾. Du reste, la tranquillité. Nous [nous] habituons au danger et la confusion diminue.

Mardi, 2 août

Trois brigands de pris et mis à mort de suite. Le feu prit dans le kraton, communiqué d'un village voisin. Il consuma un grand nombre de maisons et s'étendit jusqu'à la place derrière le palais du sultan. Vers deux heures, nous

reçûmes des lettres de Sagermans: la colonne a passé sans peine; 50 hommes sont restés à Klaten, le reste a pris le chemin de Soura Karta. Pourquoi s'éloigner autant ? Ses lettres nous apprennent que S.E. le lieutenant gouverneur-général De Kock ⁽⁹⁶⁾ est arrivé le 1er à Solo. Cette nouvelle nous ranime un peu.

Mercredi, 3 août

On exécuta aujourd'hui un santri qui avait cherché à s'introduire dans le Massigit [Mesjid Agung ?] probablement pour y mettre le feu. Ce jour a été très tranquille.

Note pour le 3 août: Aujourd'hui Chevallier a interrogé le fils du prince rebelle Dipo Ngoro ⁽⁹⁷⁾ sur ce qu'il pouvait savoir des projets de son père. La déclaration de ce jeune homme nommé [Radèn Mas Alip] contient les faits suivants: le Pangueran Dipo Ngoro montra toujours une haine invétérée contre les Néerlandais. Il y a cinq ans qu'il reprocha un jour au sultan défunt Amanko Bouana IV [Hamengkubuwana IV] sa familiarité avec les Européens. Il l'engagea à secouer leur joug et à reprendre le Kadou. Le sultan trouva mauvais qu'il lui parlât ainsi et lui défendit de l'entretenir sur ce sujet. Depuis ce temps Dipo Ngoro ne parut plus à la cour qu'aux jours de cérémonie [i.e. les Garebeg]. Quand le sultan mourut, il s'écria qu'il était heureux qu'il eût quitté ce monde parce qu'il pourrait maintenant agir selon sa pensée. Le premier prince qui adhéra à ses projets séditieux fut T. [Pangéran] Sourio-di-pouro ⁽⁹⁸⁾. Il désignait le secrétaire Chevallier, Van den Berg ⁽⁹⁹⁾ et Boens van der Boyen comme ceux que le résident avait chargés de l'arrêter. Son fils ne voulant pas suivre ses mauvaises intentions, il le renvoya dans le kraton. Depuis longtemps il ne prenait plus de Padjak [pajak] de ses Tjatjas [cacah] et les engageait à se procurer des armes avec ce qu'ils auraient dû lui payer ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. (Ses manières grossières envers plusieurs des autorités du gouvernement viennent bien à l'appui de cette déclaration).

Jeudi, 4 août

Nous ne recevons aucune nouvelle et l'inquiétude commence à reparaître. Nos espions nous rapportent que nous serons attaqués; les troupes javanes, prajourit, se sont fatiguées et désertent tous les jours. Nous pouvons repousser de petites attaques, mais notre faiblesse nous oblige à tenir la plus stricte défensive, ce qui encourage nos ennemis et les rend plus hardis tous les jours.

Vendredi, 5 août

Dans une escarmouche le Tommogong de notre parti, Rono Diningrad [Rana-diningrat], a reçu un coup de fusil au bras ⁽¹⁰¹⁾. Notre situation empire tous les jours. La désertion augmente dans le kraton ⁽¹⁰²⁾. Tommogong Wiro Ngoro a demandé quelques pièces d'artillerie. On lui en a donné deux, appartenant, je crois, au résident. L'un de nos espions nous a rapporté qu'il avait vu à Selarong le jeune officier des dragons de Manko Ngoro, Siwongso [Radèn Mas Suwongsa] ⁽¹⁰³⁾, que nous avons cru tué à Kalassan où il a été blessé et fait

prisonnier avec un de ses cavaliers. Son père, [le] major [Suryadipura], est aussi dans le fort.

Pangueran Aboe Bakar [Pangéran Abubakar] ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, beau-père du Tommogong Major Wiro Nogoro, s'est échappé cette nuit amenant avec lui le fils de Wiro Nogoro qui habitait chez lui. Ce même Pangueran est venu il y a quelques jours chez le résident. Il était si affaibli par la maladie que l'on était obligé de le soutenir.

Samedi, 6 août

Aucune nouvelle : voilà une communication singulièrement rétablie ! Les prajourit ou gardes du corps du sultan désertent les uns après les autres en descendant des murs du kraton. Ce qui [est] le pis, c'est qu'ils emportent leurs armes. De quatre-vingt prêtres ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ qui servent dans le palais il n'en reste pas vingt-cinq. La Ratou Agon, voyant qu'elle ne pouvait se fier à aucune des personnes qui l'entouraient, a fait avertir le résident qu'elle voulait entrer dans le fort avec le jeune sultan et les regalia [pusaka ageng] de Mataram ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Chevallier fut la chercher dans deux voitures du sultan. A quatre heures, elle entra dans le fort avec le sultan, la femme du Major Wiro Nogoro ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ et quelques personnes de sa suite, escortée par un détachement de la garde européenne du sultan. Le major [Wiranagara] suivait la voiture du sultan portant la lance de Pleret [Plèrèd]. Le résident les reçut sur le perron de sa maison et la cour s'établit dans les appartements de la gauche. On m'a dit qu'avant de sortir du kraton, la Ratou Agon fit assembler tous les chefs restés fidèles. Elle leur annonça que la désertion de la plus grande partie des troupes du sultan l'obligeait à pourvoir à la sûreté de son petit-fils et des regalia de la couronne, que c'était elle qui avait demandé de se mettre sous la protection immédiate du gouvernement néerlandais, qu'elle n'était en rien forcée d'entrer dans le fort [mais] que la crainte seule, de voir le jeune sultan tomber entre les mains des princes rebelles, l'obligeait à prendre cette résolution. Tous ceux qui l'écoutaient paraissaient pénétrés de cette scène. J'ai eu l'occasion de voir plusieurs fois la Ratou Agon: sans avoir de beaux traits, elle conserve beaucoup de dignité et représente fort bien ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. L'entrée du sultan dans le fort est d'une grande conséquence surtout si nous pouvons obtenir quelques avantages. Les ordres du véritable souverain ont beaucoup d'empire sur les Javans et en feront rentrer beaucoup dans le devoir.*

Après l'entrée du jeune sultan au fort, je fus me promener avec Chevallier dans le camp européen [kampung welanda]. Ces bonnes gens se trouvaient dans une situation encore plus inquiétante que la nôtre car [ils] sont toujours au moment d'être pillés et massacrés. Vers la brune, nous rentrions au fort lors-

* After this sentence Payen included the following passage which was later erased in the original: «à la soirée à la réquisition de la Ratou, Chevallier a fait arrêter le grand écuyer du sultan ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. Il était prêt à passer à l'ennemi et déjà sa femme et ses enfants avaient quitté secrètement le kraton. Cet homme a montré beaucoup d'ingratitude. Il est très riche. Le père du jeune sultan et sa grand-mère l'avaient comblé de bienfaits. Il leur devait tout ce qu'il possède. On l'accuse même de s'être emparé de plusieurs bijoux appartenant à la famille royale du sultan».

que nous en vîmes sortir* beaucoup de femmes et d'hommes marchant avec précipitation. Au milieu de ce groupe marchait le résident en veste blanche donnant la main à la Ratou Agon. On portait le jeune sultan et tous paraissaient fuir le fort en désordre. Ce fut de cette manière qu'il regagna le kraton. Chevallier était bien fâché de voir échapper l'avantage qu'il nous avait obtenu avec tant de soins. La cause de ce départ précipité était la volonté d'un enfant de six ans: il avait pleuré, crié, [et] la Ratou Agon n'avait pas su résister ou plutôt n'avait pas [f.6] résisté pour elle et l'on était sorti du fort sans même attendre des voitures. Si notre situation s'améliore un moment, quelque fausse mesure la rend bientôt plus fâcheuse**. Nos espions nous rapportent que les princes rebelles ont fait appeler à Salarong [Selarong] tous les chefs de leurs partis et qu'ils se préparent à nous attaquer sérieusement sur plusieurs points ⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

Dimanche, 7 août

Chevallier a été ce matin au kraton : il a eu un long entretien avec la Ratou Agon. Il paraît qu'elle est décidée à ramener le sultan au fort. La Ratou était extrêmement affectée de la défection des gens du kraton. Elle a demandé à Chevallier de faire arrêter le grand écuyer du sultan, Roto Widjoyo [Ratawijaya] ⁽¹¹¹⁾. Il était prêt à passer à l'ennemi et sa femme et ses enfants avaient déjà quitté le kraton. Cet homme avait été comblé de bienfaits par le défunt sultan et par la Ratou Agon: on l'accuse même d'avoir détourné des bijoux qui leur appartenaient. Notre inquiétude s'accroît: nous sommes à la veille de perdre [le] Pakou Alaman [Pakualaman] et le kraton. Le camp européen ne peut être défendu. Nous serons absolument renfermés dans le fort et nous ne recevons pas de nouvelles de Soura Karta. Tout cela est bien triste.

Un kouli a passé au travers des brigands: il nous a apporté des nouvelles de Magellan et de Pantjou. Les rebelles ont attaqué le Magellan à plusieurs reprises, mais ils ont été repoussés avec perte d'hommes et plusieurs de leurs chefs. Pantjou est brûlé ⁽¹¹²⁾. Dans la soirée, nos espions vinrent nous avertir que l'on nous attaquerait demain à quatre heures du matin. L'attaque principale doit être dirigée sur le kraton du prince Pakou Alam. Voici notre situation: nous avons une pièce de canon d'une livre à l'extrémité dudit kraton [i.e. Pakualaman]. Elle est protégée par 15 flanqueurs aux ordres du lieutenant Sauvage ⁽¹¹³⁾ et les troupes du prince ⁽¹¹⁴⁾. Cette pièce commande à la route qui va [à] Rodjo Villangon et à celle de ... [Kutha Gedhé ?]. Près du pilier blanc [i.e. Witte Paal ou Tugu] est une garde javane avec 35 hommes de la Légion de Ario Manko Ngoro; au kraton se trouvent 30 flanqueurs, 25 hommes de la compagnie de Madurais

* After this word Payen originally wrote «une foule de Javans» which he subsequently erased.

** After this passage Payen included the following passage which was subsequently erased in the original: «Pas de nouvelles de Soura Karta. Un kouli nous a apporté des lettres de Magellan: les rebelles sont maîtres de trois districts de cette province ⁽¹¹⁵⁾. Pantjou [Pancu], la terre de Boens van der Boyen, est brûlée ⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Nous avons aussi reçu la proclamation qu'a faite à son arrivée à Soura Karta S.E le général De Kock, voyez la pièce ci-jointe».

du capitaine Monoie aux ordres du lieutenant Sikes [Sickesz] ⁽¹¹⁷⁾, quelques troupes de Manko Nogoro, le reste des prajourit et les cavaliers de Wiseman ⁽¹¹⁸⁾. (Nota Bene: que l'enceinte du kraton a trois mille de tour) ⁽¹¹⁹⁾. Sur l'alun-alun sont campés 150 hommes de la garde du Sousouhounan [Pakubuwana VI] et quelques Tommogongs de notre parti. Les restes des flanqueurs et des Madurais sont dans le fort avec [les] hussards sous le capitaine Verboon ⁽¹²⁰⁾.

A neuf heures Wiseman vint avertir que la Ratou Agon, profitant du sommeil du jeune sultan, allait entrer au fort. Elle arriva avec sa suite quelques instants après. Cette entrée avait quelque chose de mystérieux: elle n'était éclairée que par quelques bougies que portaient les gens de la suite. On observait le plus grand silence, de peur de réveiller le prince qui ne cessa de dormir.

Lundi, 8 août

Vers minuit nous avons commencé à entendre des coups de fusils venant du kraton. Je ne m'étais pas couché: j'avoue que ce qui allait arriver m'inquiétait beaucoup. Bientôt j'entendis des cris chez le résident: le jeune sultan faisait beaucoup de bruit et voulait absolument retourner au kraton. Il ordonnait qu'on lui ouvrît les portes et demandait sa garde. Fatigué de crier, il s'endormit. On tira du kraton pendant toute la nuit. On sonna le réveil de bonne heure au fort et vers six heures la fusillade semblait venir de tous les points. A sept heures, les rebelles attaquèrent en masse le kraton du prince Pakou Alam [i.e. Pakualaman]. Le lieutenant Sauvage se trouvait très pressé et en danger de perdre sa pièce quand le capitaine Verboon arriva avec les hussards et une pièce de trois [livres ?] ce qui les fit un peu retirer, mais ils revinrent bientôt à la charge et s'approchèrent jusqu'à trente pas des pièces du fort. Nous entendions leurs hourras et le son de leurs Bendé [bendhé] ⁽¹²¹⁾ quoique le feu du canon ne cessa pas un moment. Il était difficile de connaître leurs pertes: ils se précipitaient pour entraîner leurs morts et blessés qui disparaissaient à l'instant. Comme une forte colonne des rebelles se dirigeait sur le pont en bas du camp européen [kampung welanda] ⁽¹²²⁾, le capitaine Verboon, craignant d'être tout à fait coupé, repassa ce pont avec sa pièce pendant que l'ennemi était contenu sur ce pont par les bourgeois ⁽¹²³⁾. On recommença à tirer et, à onze heures du matin, les rebelles firent retraite, se dirigeant sur Rodjo Villangon et Bazar Gédé [i.e. Kutha Gedhé] ⁽¹²⁴⁾. Dans le combat, le maréchal de logis Chevallier a été blessé au bras d'un coup de feu.

Pendant que ces choses se passaient du côté du Pakou Alaman, nous étions attaqués d'abord sur la route de Gamping ⁽¹²⁵⁾. Le capitaine Comsius [Kumsius] y marcha avec deux pelotons de flanqueurs et une pièce de canon dont quelques coups mirent les brigands en fuite. Mais l'attaque était plus sérieuse du côté de la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. L'ennemi fit plier les Javans et les troupes de Manko Nogoro. On envoya à leur secours un peloton de flanqueurs avec le brave lieutenant Van der Plas ⁽¹²⁶⁾. Il arrêta un moment leur progrès mais l'ennemi, s'étant glissé derrière les murs qui bordent la route en avant le camp chinois [kampung cina] ⁽¹²⁷⁾, vint tirer sur nos soldats à bout por-

tant. Ils blessèrent mortellement le flanqueur Van Strikenbergen [?] et mirent sept hommes hors de combat. Les Javans et les Chinois reculaient déjà. Monsieur Van der Plas prit le parti de se retirer jusqu'à la maison du Raden Patti [Adipati]. Alors on lui amena la pièce de canon qui était devenue inutile sur la route de Gamping. Il attaqua les rebelles et les poursuivit jusqu'au pilier blanc [i.e. Witte Paal ou Tugu] où ils se retirèrent entièrement. On croit avoir vu tomber un de leurs chefs et un flanqueur s'empara d'un payou [payung] ⁽¹²⁸⁾. A midi tout était tranquille: les forces de l'ennemi - du moins ce que nous avons vu - pouvaient monter à cinq ou six mille hommes, mieux armés et habillés que ceux que nous avons rencontrés jusqu'à ce moment. Nos soldats disent avoir vu parmi eux des prajourit du sultan. Un peu revenus de la crainte que nous avait causée cette attaque, vu la faiblesse de nos moyens, nous reçûmes une lettre de Klaten: elle était du colonel Cochius qui nous donnait l'avis qu'il était parti de Klaten pour marcher vers nous avec un fort détachement et deux pièces de canon. Il engageait notre commandant ⁽¹²⁹⁾ d'envoyer de son côté une reconnaissance pour lui ouvrir le chemin dans les environs de Djocja. Vous concevez quel plaisir nous fit cette nouvelle. Ainsi ce jour, que nous avions de justes raisons de craindre, devenait très heureux. Nous avons repoussé l'ennemi et nous allions être secourus. A six [heures], la colonne du colonel Cochius arriva au fort, forte de quatre cents hommes: savoir, vingt-cinq hussards avec le lieutenant Mathot, une compagnie de Madurais [du] Capitaine Van Ganzen ⁽¹³⁰⁾, les dragons, hussards et infanterie de Manko Nogoro suivis de cinq Tommogong des terres de Solo [f.7] qui retournent dans leurs districts. Parmi eux se trouve celui du Banjoumas [Banyumas] ⁽¹³¹⁾. Cette colonne nous a apporté aussi quelques vivres et un peu d'argent**.*

Mardi, 9 août

Ce jour, les troupes se reposèrent. La Ratou Kentjono, mère du sultan ⁽¹³²⁾, ne veut pas quitter le kraton (elle est la fille de l'ancien Adipati Dano Ridjo II [Danureja II] que le sultan Amanko Bouana II [Hamengkubuwana II] fit mourir). Depuis la mort du dernier sultan, son mari, elle a souvent donné des signes de démence. Dans l'après-midi, Wiseman amena au fort la Ratou Mas (première femme du Sultan Amanko Bouana III [Hamengkubuwana III]: elle perdit le titre de Ratou Agong parce qu'elle n'eut point d'enfants) ⁽¹³³⁾, avec la soeur du jeune sultan, enfant de trois ans ⁽¹³⁴⁾. La journée fut assez tranquille, la nuit seulement la garde du kraton fit un feu presque continu sur quelques brigands qui rôdaient autour des murs. Ils en tuèrent quelques-uns.

Mercredi, 10 août

Ce matin, [le] colonel Cochius, [le] lieutenant-colonel Achenbach, [le major]

* Name unclear in MS. : could also read «Van Skrikenbergen».

** In the margin opposite this description of Colonel Cochius's column, Payen has inserted the following : «Le lieutenant-colonel Achenbach ⁽¹³⁵⁾, et le major Paris de Montagu ⁽¹³⁶⁾ commandent en sous-ordre».

Paris [de Montaigu] [et] Chevallier partirent avec un détachement et deux pièces d'artillerie pour aller reconnaître l'ennemi du côté de Bazar Gedeh [Kutha Gedhé] : ils ne rencontrèrent presque personne sur leur route et arrivèrent devant ce dessah [désa], un des plus riches [i.e. Kutha Gedhé]. Chevallier fit sommer un des deux chefs de Soura Karta ou de Djocja de venir lui parler, mais tous les deux refusèrent disant qu'ils n'osaient venir. Il y avait des brigands sur les bords du dessah qui accueillirent le parlementaire avec des huées et des pierres. On ne les attaqua point par des raisons que dans ce village se trouvent les tombeaux révéérés de plusieurs sultans et princes de Mataram et que la moitié appartient à Soura Karta ⁽¹³⁷⁾. On leur demanda une contribution de riz et d'huile qu'ils promirent d'acquitter. Le détachement se retira ensuite vers le fort. On a pris aussi des mesures pour faciliter la retraite de nos troupes hors du kraton, au cas où l'ennemi s'en emparerait. Je fus le soir avec Chevallier reconduire la Ratou Mas. Nous eûmes de la peine à voir la Ratou Kentjono: elle se montra enfin. On soupçonne que le prince Dipo Ngoro a des desseins sur elle ⁽¹³⁸⁾. Nous avons reçu des lettres de Magellan: le Résident Le Clerq [Le Clercq] avec cinq cent hommes tient tête aux rebelles ⁽¹³⁹⁾. Il les a repoussés avant-hier [i.e. le 8 août 1825] le matin, mais le feu de la sédition gagne: déjà les districts de Kali Beber et Ledok [Ledhok] ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ se sont soulevés. Partout les Chinois sont massacrés; on n'épargne ni femmes ni enfants ⁽¹⁴¹⁾. Jamais peut-être l'état des choses n'a été plus critique. Le soir on tira encore nombre de coups de fusils du kraton. Cependant la nuit fut tranquille.

Jeudi, 11 août

Le matin, quelques brigands se sont montrés du côté de l'avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. On les a chassés et dans cette escarmouche un officier de la Légion de Manko Ngoro a été légèrement blessé au bras. On a pris ce matin un brigand qui cherchait à mettre le feu au camp chinois [kampung cina]. Le reste de la journée s'est passé sans autres événements. Monsieur le colonel Cochius fait ses apprêts pour partir pour le Kadou. Le soir, les bourgeois lui envoyèrent une députation pour le prier de rester encore quelques jours, mais les ordres qu'il avait, ne lui permirent pas d'acquiescer à leur demande. On a travaillé à abattre des murs et à faire des ouvertures dans le kraton pour faciliter la retraite des troupes. Toutes les bouteilles vides ont été mises en réquisition, pour être brisées et placées dans les avenues qui peuvent en faciliter l'attaque ⁽¹⁴²⁾.

Vendredi, 12 août

Au point du jour, les lieutenants-colonels Cochius et Achenbach, le major Paris [de Montaigu] [et] [Monsieur] De Kock fils ⁽¹⁴³⁾ nous ont quittés avec la colonne arrivée le 8 [août]. Ils nous ont laissé cent hommes des troupes de Manko Ngoro. La colonne a marché sur Klaten au lieu d'aller à Magellan. Si j'avais pu connaître plus tôt ce changement, j'en aurais profité pour quitter*

* Payen has written «Messieurs».

Djocja, cependant j'avoue que je me séparerais de Chevallier avec la plus grande peine. A peine les troupes nous ont-elles quittés que déjà nous éprouvons de nouveaux malheurs. Le manque de vivres fait désertir toutes les troupes. Ce soir Monsieur Kriegenberg [Von Kriegenbergh] ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ commandant les cent hommes de cavalerie du Sousouhounan, est venu faire le rapport à Chevallier que dans l'après-midi quatre-vingts hussards javans du sultan étaient allés fourrager et qu'ils n'étaient plus reparus, ainsi que les quatre officiers qui les commandaient. On nous a dit qu'il y a beaucoup de monde rassemblé à Bazar Ghede. Par la colonne d'aujourd'hui j'ai écrit à Schneither ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ et au résident de Capellen [Van der Capellen] ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

Samedi, 13 août

Vers dix heures, beaucoup de rebelles étaient rassemblés vis-à-vis [le] Pakou Alaman et paraissaient vouloir attaquer ce point. Le commandant envoya contre eux le capitaine Monoie avec des flanqueurs, et Sisque [Delatre] et un peloton de hussards. Ces messieurs firent une heureuse manœuvre et, malgré leur petit nombre, parvinrent à tourner l'ennemi qui se retira précipitamment et ne reparut plus. Ils laissèrent quelques morts et nous ne perdîmes personne. Tommogong Antho Widjoyo [Tumenggung Antawijaya] ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ commandait ces bandits sous les ordres du Panguerang Adi Nogoro ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ qui était aussi présent. Celui-ci s'attribua le titre de général d'armée ou chef à la guerre: (Senopati Ingologo [Sénapati Ingalaga]).

Cette nuit vers dix heures, nous eûmes une vive alarme: quelques Brandals [brandhal] se présentèrent au camp chinois [kampung cina] et mirent le feu à des baraquas de bambou. Les Chinois commencèrent à sonner le breng-breng ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ [brèng-brèng] en faisant des grands cris. La garnison du fort prit les armes. On fit sortir trois patrouilles. Tout rentra bientôt dans l'ordre: on se saisit de deux des incendiaires qui furent remis entre les mains du Radèn Adipati. (Nota Bene: ces incendiaires se sont trouvés être des valets qu'un Chinois même avait envoyé chercher du riz et tout ceci ne doit être qu'un incendie accidentel et une fausse alarme).

Dimanche, 14 août

Toute la journée fut tranquille. Nous savons que l'ennemi rassemble beaucoup de monde à Bazar Ghédé et à Krapiak [Krapyak] ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾. Le soir nous avons reçu des nouvelles de Magellan: Monsieur Le Clercq a repoussé toutes les attaques qui ont été faites contre lui. Les révoltés se sont aussi présentés du côté de Kali Beber et Ledok mais ils ont été obligés de se retirer. Nos espions nous ont prévenus que vous serions attaqués demain vers les neuf heures: [Pangéran] Adi Nogoro conduira l'attaque sur [le] Pakou Alaman; [Pangéran] Manko Boumi sera du côté de Gamping et Panguerang Blitar ⁽¹⁵¹⁾ viendra par la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. Nous avons fait les dispositions nécessaires pour les recevoir de notre mieux. La nuit fut tranquille. On a aussi travaillé ce jour à fortifier avec des palissades et des abattis les différentes avenues.

Lundi, 15 août

De grand matin, les troupes disponibles sortirent du fort avec nos pièces de campagne pour aller prendre poste aux endroits qui leur étaient assignés. Les rebelles se montraient en force vers le kraton [i.e. dalem] du prince Pakou Alam. Le capitaine Komsius avec le lieutenant Van der Plas défendaient ce point. [Le] capitaine Monoie, avec un détachement, était avec une pièce, [au] pont, au bas du camp européen. De ce côté, l'ennemi attaqua [f.8] en trois colonnes: on le laissa approcher jusqu'à bonne portée et il fut repoussé par trois fois. La dernière, les bourgeois et les quelques flanqueurs le prirent en flanc et quoiqu'il entraîna ses morts et blessés, les traces de sang qu'ils laissèrent prouvaient que nombre des leurs étaient hors de combat. Pendant cette attaque le commandant Bowens [Bouwensch] ⁽¹⁵²⁾ fit jeter une bombe du fort qui ne fit pas un grand effet. Une des colonnes ennemies se présenta vers le bastion sud-ouest du kraton. La mousqueterie l'empêcha d'approcher. La troisième [colonne ennemie] qui attaquait le côté est du kraton [i.e. dalem] du prince Pakou Alam fut aussi repoussée et perdit un de ses chefs (un Demang): on lui coupa la tête qui fut plantée sur un bambou. Nous n'eûmes qu'un flanqueur de blessé.

Du côté de Gamping, les rebelles ne firent que se montrer sans avancer. Nous avions une pièce au coin de l'avenue; on jeta une bombe contre eux. Elle alla tomber vis-à-vis la maison de Adi pouro [Adipurwa ?] ⁽¹⁵³⁾ à la moitié de sa portée. Probablement notre poudre n'est pas des meilleures ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾. Les rebelles s'étaient présentés en grand nombre dans l'avenue de Soura Karta ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾, mais le capitaine du génie Keer les reçut à coups de canon et ils se retirèrent bien vite. Un moment après, ils mirent le feu à plusieurs maisons derrière le camp chinois [kampung cina]. Il pénétrèrent même dans les jardins de la résidence par une ouverture qu'ils firent au mur de clôture. On envoya contre eux deux pelotons de flanqueurs qui, après un quart d'heure d'un feu assez vif, les obligèrent à évacuer le chemin qui court parallèlement à la grande avenue et les forcèrent à la retraite. A une heure, on ne tirait plus et les rebelles se retiraient vers Bazar Ghédé et Krapiak, lieux ordinaires de leurs rassemblements. Le reste du jour et la nuit fut [furent] tranquilles. Le Radèn Adipati a envoyé les Tomogong de notre parti mettre le feu à ce qui reste des maisons dans les dessus qui peuvent favoriser l'approche de l'ennemi.

Mardi, 16 août

La journée s'est passée sans événement. On nous rapporte que les rebelles ont perdu beaucoup de monde et qu'un des principaux chefs a été blessé. Un homme qui a apporté des lettres de Soura Karta au major commandant les troupes de Manko Nogoro dit que de Solo à Gondang [Gondhang] ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ tout est tranquille; que la colonne partie de Djocja le 12 [août] est encore à Klaten, où il est arrivé des effets militaires, et qu'il n'a vu des brigands que dans les environs de Gondang et de Kallassan.

Mercredi, 17 août *

Il ne s'est rien passé de bien intéressant: des nouvelles vagues nous disent que Pangueran Adi Sourio ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ aurait été pris par les coureurs de Manko Nogoro et conduit à Solo; que Pangueran Anom Ingologo Sinopati [Sénapati Ingallaga] Adi Nogoro serait mort des blessures qu'il a reçues le 15 [août] ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾. Le soir nous fûmes avertis que les rebelles rassemblés au Rixo Nogaran [Reksanegaran] ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ voulaient attaquer [le] Pakou Alaman du côté du nord. Ceci nous tint éveillés une partie de la nuit qui se passa cependant sans événements.

Jeudi, 18 août

Ce matin on [a] amené divers vagabonds soupçonnés d'être des brigands. Il furent mis à la chaîne. On n'empêcha pas des soldats blancs de s'en amuser un peu; j'ai vu un officier frapper de son mieux un de ces hommes que l'on disait santri ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾; un autre, resté entre les mains des soldats, fut maltraité de la manière la plus impitoyable, foulé aux pieds et on l'emporta mourant, rendant le sang par la bouche. Ce que j'écris, je l'ai vu..!

Nous jouissons d'une tranquillité qui nous inquiète; il est probable qu'elle précède quelque attaque sérieuse. On nous parle depuis longtemps d'une attaque générale qui doit avoir lieu le 8 du mois de Sourah [Sura]. Dipô Nogoro a rêvé que le sultan Agon [Agung] lui avait indiqué ce jour comme celui où il obtiendrait sur nous des succès éclatants ⁽¹⁶¹⁾. Ainsi le 22 août doit décider de notre sort si les songes ne sont point mensonges !

Vendredi, 19 août**

La journée a été très tranquille. A midi les bourgeois qui manquent de vivres ont fait une excursion. On leur a donné pour les soutenir un peloton de flanqueurs et un détachement de hussards, le tout sous les ordres du capitaine Comsius. Ils poussèrent jusqu'à Rodjo Villangon d'où ils chassèrent les brigands. A leur retour, ils prirent un peu de riz et quelques bestiaux. Généralement on s'est encore plaint du capitaine [Kumsius] dans cette occasion. Les soldats, même, refusent de lui obéir. A la brune est [sont] arrivé[s] de Klaten une compagnie maduraise de Van Ganssen [Van Ganzen], 48 flanqueurs aux ordres du capitaine Cloesterhuis [Kloosterhuis] ⁽¹⁶²⁾, le reste [des] troupes de Manko Nogoro et deux pièces de campagne, en tout 350 hommes. Ils nous ont apporté des vivres, de l'argent et des munitions de guerre avec la certitude que nous recevions bientôt des puissants secours, à la tête desquels S.E. le L. G. [lieutenant-général] De Kock espérait attaquer avec succès les princes rebelles. Dans cette

* In the margin opposite the entry for this day Payen has put: «Ire lettre du résident à Chevallier sur la rentrée de ses meubles et la nécessité de rentrer les archives: réponse de Chevallier ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾».

** In the margin opposite this entry for the 19 August, Payen has written: «2ème lettre du résident [Smissaert] qui déclare officiellement à notre ami [Chevallier] qu'il ne veut plus le voir chez lui et le menace du courroux du ciel pour certains péchés passés; de la gaité du public à cette occasion» ⁽¹⁶³⁾.

marche la colonne a escarmouché contre les brigands et deux flanqueurs de Solo ont été blessés.

La sédition s'est étendue fort loin: la grande route entre Pakalongang, Tagal et Samarang est interrompue et la poste va par mer ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. Du reste, les états de Solo sont très tranquilles et la cour montre beaucoup de bonne volonté ⁽¹⁶⁶⁾. Hier, [le] 18[août], les troupes de l'empereur [i.e. Sunan Pakubuwana VI] avec quelques Européens sous la conduite du lieutenant Schlosser ⁽¹⁶⁷⁾, ont attaqué à Trudok [Trucuk ?] ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ le Tomogong rebelle Merto-loyo [Mertalaya] ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾, qu'ils ont chassé de ce poste d'où il inquiétait les environs de Klaten. J'ai reçu aujourd'hui une lettre de Bocarmé ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾.

Samedi, 20 août

Nos espions s'accordent à nous avertir que lundi [prochain] nous serions attaqués par toutes les forces de l'ennemi ayant à leur tête le fanatique Dipo Nogoro lui-même ⁽¹⁷¹⁾. On contredit aussi la nouvelle de la mort d'Adi Nogoro. Le colonel Achenbach a pris aujourd'hui le commandement du fort et de toutes les troupes. On s'occupe, autant que le permet le petit nombre d'ouvriers que nous avons, à établir des palissades aux endroits les plus exposés. L'effectif de nos troupes sans les officiers est de 1.100 hommes. Ne sont point compris dans ce nombre les Javans du kraton et ceux qui suivent les Tomogongs qui nous sont restés fidèles. Nous avons 6 pièces de campagnes et les munitions ne nous manquent pas.

Dimanche, 21 août

Le bureau de la résidence a été transféré ce matin dans la partie antérieure de la maison que j'occupe. Les rapports sur les intentions de l'ennemi sont que le Pangueran Dipo Nogoro attaquera du côté de Gamping ⁽¹⁷²⁾ [et] qu'il aura pour sa garde 400 prêtres ⁽¹⁷³⁾. S'il ne peut réunir ce nombre, il se contentera de 200 et pour le moins de 44. Il sera accompagné en outre de tous les princes [rebelles]. Il viendra s'établir au passeban [paséban] ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ d'où il donnera ses ordres. On nous avertit que ce soir même l'action doit commencer. Sur ce, les troupes prirent les armes à cinq heures et s'assemblèrent devant le fort et à 6 heures les différents détachements se rendirent à leur poste: sur le chemin de Gamping, capitaine Van Gansen avec deux pièces et 100 hommes; dans la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara], capitaine Monnoye [avec] deux pièces et 100 hommes; [f.9] au Pakou Alaman, capitaine Comsius; dans le kraton, capitaine Cloesterhuis; la réserve aux ordres du capitaine commandant Boens bivouaque vis-à-vis du fort avec une pièce.

Ce matin, Monsieur le Résident Smissaert a cru devoir organiser la garde bourgeoise ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾. A cette occasion il s'est transporté [avec] le lieutenant-colonel Achenbach et Chevallier au camp européen où ces messieurs étaient rassemblés. Il a fait un discours qui donne une juste idée de son éloquence. Après avoir conté à messieurs les bourgeois que quoiqu'il ne fût pas probable que nous fussions encore attaqués, il était bon d'organiser leur service et de leur faire connaître les chefs auxquels ils devaient obéir. M. Smissart se servit plusieurs fois de l'expres-

sion élégante de «jongentjes» qui faisait avec quelqu'autre de ce genre (comme «krakelen») un effet merveilleux. Le colonel [Achenbach], à la fin de son homélie, lui ayant rappelé qu'il était prudent d'avertir messieurs les bourgeois des projets de l'ennemi, il ajouta pour conclure que demain nous serions attaqués* sur tous les points ! Comparons la fin et le commencement de ce discours et nous pourrions voir la juste mesure de [ce Monsieur].

La Ratou Agon a confié au major Raden Tomogon Wiro Nogoro un kris pousaka [pusaka] de la couronne** (176).

Lundi, 22 août

Malgré les apparences, la nuit s'est passée tranquillement quoique peu de nous autres se soyons livrés au repos. L'ennemi ne connaît guère l'avantage d'attaquer de nuit.

Il est neuf heures du soir et Dieu merci ! nous vivons encore et n'avons pas perdu un pouce de terrain. Dès la pointe du jour, les postes avaient été renforcés. A neuf heures du matin, on n'apercevait que peu de mouvement. Les troupes [qui] avaient bivouaqué, rentraient. Il paraît que les rebelles s'en aperçurent car, à dix heures, une fusillade s'engagea derrière les jardins de la résidence. Ils se retirèrent et se présentèrent ensuite dans la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. [Le] capitaine Monnoye leur envoya quelques volées de canon qui leur tua du monde et ils quittèrent aussi la partie de ce côté. [Le] Pakou Alaman fut aussi attaqué sans succès. Nous y perdîmes cependant un hussard: le brigadier Droestenburg fut tué d'un coup de kris. Ce qui augmentait*** cette perte c'est que, le cadavre n'ayant pas été enlevé de suite, les brigands revinrent à la charge et lui coupèrent la tête qu'ils emportèrent (177). Vers les quatre heures après-midi, l'ennemi s'était retiré sur tous les points. Ainsi se passa cette journée que nous attendions depuis un mois et qui devait nous être si funeste. Il paraît que l'ennemi est découragé. Toute la nuit, le bendé [bendhé] (178) s'est fait entendre pour les rassemblements. Cependant il a montré beaucoup moins de monde que dans les autres attaques. Les koulis ont presque disparu et les attaques étaient faibles, peu soutenues et sans les clameurs qui les accompagnaient ordinairement; pour les princes et leur escorte de prêtres nous ne les avons pas vus et Sultan Agon s'est trompé sur le jour de notre ruine ! Reçu une lettre de Sagermans qui nous dit que tout est tranquille dans les environs de Klaten.

Mardi, 23 août

Le Tomogong qui a la garde dans la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara] a pris un brandal qui nous a donné quelques nouvelles de la perte des rebelles dans la journée d'hier: du moins du côté de la grande avenue ils étaient au nom-

* Payen originally wrote «furieusement attaqués», but subsequently erased the adverb.

** After this sentence Payen wrote the following which was subsequently erased in the original: «pour qu'il la porte pendant la journée».

*** Payen has written «était augmentait» in the original.

bre de mille hommes dont soixante avaient des armes à feu et soixante koulis. Le reste était armé de piques. Ils devaient piller le camp chinois [kampung cina] et apporter le butin chez leur chef qui leur payerait pour cette journée 20 s. [sols]. Cet homme [dit] que Monnoye leur a mis quarante hommes hors de combat. A leur retour à Tegaldirdjo* [Tegalreja], qui était le point de ralliement, ils n'étaient plus cinq cents hommes. Il y a beaucoup de monde malade par le manque d'opium⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ et les koulis ne veulent plus marcher. Pendant que l'on se battait, les princes étaient à Krapiak. Il est malheureux pour nous que nous ne puissions nous porter en avant dans ce moment. Une telle démonstration obligerait probablement les princes à s'éloigner tout à fait de Djocja. Le soir nous fûmes avertis qu'ils devaient nous attaquer demain, le matin à onze heures. Le prince Pakou Alam fit demander du renfort. On lui envoya trente-cinq hommes. C'est toujours lui qui donne l'alarme. Il faut avouer que le gouvernement, en donnant à ce prince quatre mille tjatjas** et l'indépendance pour établir un contrepoids avec la puissance des sultans de Mataram [i.e. Yogyakarta], n'a pas jusqu'à ce moment sujet de se louer de sa reconnaissance. Les troupes, qu'il doit entretenir, ne valent guère plus que [celles] de nos priaïe [priyayi] du Priangan⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. Il a refusé d'être le tuteur du jeune sultan et jusqu'aujourd'hui nous sommes obligés de défendre pour lui ce que nous lui avons donné, ce qui certainement n'était pas l'intention du gouvernement. On fait circuler un ordre du commandant pour la fête de demain⁽¹⁸¹⁾.

Mercredi, 24 août

A sept heures, Monsieur le résident a reçu pour S.M. [Sa Majesté]⁽¹⁸²⁾ les félicitations d'usage: le matin on a fait un salut de 33 coups de canon. Depuis le matin il y avait un rassemblement du côté [du] Pakou Alaman. A dix heures ils firent plusieurs fois mine d'attaquer. Quelques coups de canon ont suffi pour les faire retirer. Ils ne parurent plus. A midi il y eut repas à la résidence: on avait invité, messieurs les officiers civils et militaires ainsi que les princes Javans.

Jeudi, 25 août

Deux colonnes aux ordres des capitaines Boens et Comsius sont sortis ce matin pour aller fourrager. Elles n'ont éprouvé aucune résistance et ont ramené quelques bêtes à cornes et du padi. Au retour, j'ai encore entendu beaucoup de plaintes sur un des chefs de ces détachements⁽¹⁸³⁾: il avait conduit sa troupe et sa cavalerie dans un village si fourré qu'en cas d'attaque personne n'eût pu en sortir. Quelques Javans s'étaient cachés dans un boyau qu'ils avaient creusé. Un santri s'élança contre un sergent et lui aurait arraché son fusil, mais le lieutenant De Gros⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ lui porta un coup de sabre. Alors ce furieux saisit l'officier, le

* Presumably, despite its plundering and burning by Dutch and Javanese troops on 20 July 1825 (see Carey [ed.], *Babad Dipanagara*, p 282 n. 198), Dipanagara's erstwhile dalem was still used as rendez-vous point by his followers during the attacks on Yogyakarta in August and September 1825.

** Payen has written «quatre mille cacah pour».

renverse et le perçait de son kris quand un soldat madurais lui sauva la vie en tuant le Javan à bout portant. Tout ce qui était dans le fossé fut tué et la femme du prêtre fut massacrée avec deux petits enfants.*

Vendredi, 26 août

[Le] capitaine Monnoye est sorti avec Chevallier à la tête d'un détachement pour chercher des vivres. Ils se sont dirigés vers la route de Bedoyo au dessa Klaka [Glagah] ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾. Un grand nombre d'habitants, Chinois, bourgeois [et] Javans, avaient suivi la colonne: tous rapportèrent du riz pour quelques jours. Ce détachement rentra au fort sans s'être engagé avec l'ennemi qui présentait à peu près mille hommes. Il suivit jusqu'au pilier blanc [i.e. Witte Paal ou Tugu] sans cependant s'approcher plus qu'à deux portées de fusils de nos gens qui se retiraient lentement. Cette sortie a procuré beaucoup de riz.

Samedi, 27 août

*[f.9a]** J'ai commencé aujourd'hui l'esquisse d'une carte des environs de Djocja d'après une autre carte bien médiocre que possède Chevallier. Il s'agit d'y insérer les renseignements que peuvent nous donner diverses personnes qui connaissent le pays, surtout les environs de Selarong qui est, comme je l'ai déjà dit, la retraite des princes rebelles. Ils ont très bien choisi: éloigné de 7 à 8 milles de Djocja, ce dessas est séparé du chemin qui va à Brosot par des sawas [sawah] au travers desquelles il n'y a que de mauvais sentiers; derrière Selarong coule le Kali Bedok [Bedhog] qui sépare ce dessas de Selarong Koulon [Kulon] aussi appelé Kentollan [Kèntholan] ⁽¹⁸⁶⁾, situé au pied des montagnes calcaires qui leur ménagent une retraite, sur le kali Progo [Praga] et de là dans le Bagalen [Bagelèn]. Tout a été très tranquille pendant toute la journée.*

Dimanche, 28 août

Ce matin [le] capitaine Monnoye a fait encore une sortie mais il n'a rien trouvé aux endroits qu'on lui avait indiqués et il n'a ramené que très peu de riz. J'ai reçu une lettre de Sagermans: tout était tranquille à Klaten. Nous savons que les troupes de Sumanap [Sumenep] ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ sont enfin arrivées à Samarang. Le sergent Ermatinger ⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ a été nommé officier. Le koulis qui a rapporté les lettres dit avoir vu des brigands sur la route. Selon les rapports, nous devons être encore attaqués demain à quatre heures du matin.

Lundi, 29 août

Toute la journée s'est passée sans que nous vissions l'ennemi. Vers le soir on a vu quelques rassemblements et à dix heures le capitaine Cloersterhuis est sorti avec un détachement. On nous a dit qu'à une heure l'ennemi entreprendra

* Payen had originally written «impitoyablement» and then crossed it out.

** Payen has again made a mistake with the folio numbering of his MS. here by writing '9' instead of '10'.

quelque chose. Il a fait un clair de lune magnifique: nous pourrons le voir venir. Ecrit à Schneither et Sagermans.

Mardi, 30 août

Vers les neuf heures du matin, nous avons entendu deux coups de canon du côté du Pakou Alaman; l'ennemi s'était montré et deux boulets avaient suffi pour l'engager à se retirer. Il fit à peu près la même manoeuvre sur le chemin de Gamping et dans la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara] et ne reparut plus de tout le jour. Il semble que le peuple revient, du moins à en juger par la population que l'on voit dans les rues, mais la cherté augmente ⁽¹⁸⁹⁾: une poule se paie jusqu'à f. 1.15 et le riz n'est plus à la portée des pauvres. Accablés d'ennuis, nous faisons des vœux pour hâter l'arrivée des troupes et des généraux qui doivent agir offensivement.

Mercredi, 31 août

A force de changer et d'effacer, j'espère faire de ma petite carte quelque chose de passable; et ce jour n'offre de particulier qu'un peu plus d'ennui qu'hier. Un de nos courriers clandestins nous a apporté des lettres de Solo et de Samarang. Ce qu'il nous a appris de plus intéressant est l'arrivée à Samarang du général Van Geen ⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ le 22 [août] à midi, que 500 Madurais avaient déjà quitté cette résidence ayant le major De Baste [De Bast] ⁽¹⁹¹⁾ à leur tête, que l'on attendait tous les jours la partie de l'expédition de Makassar [Makasar] que l'on avait envoyé à Borneo et qui a été contremandée ⁽¹⁹²⁾ et qu'il se trouvait déjà un certain nombre de troupes et de vivres rassemblés à Klaten. Comme Sagermans demande encore que je lui écrive, il est probable qu'il n'a pas reçu ma lettre du 29 [août]. Le bruit court que nous devons être attaqués après-demain. On y fait peu d'attention à ces contes. Nous y sommes habitués. D'autres rapports disent que Dipo Nogoro a défendu toute attaque offensive jusqu'à l'arrivée du général De Kock. Il exerce ses troupes qui sont fort diminuées. On dit aussi que c'est contre son ordre que l'on a incendié les environs de Djocja-Karta; il rejette ces dévastations sur Adi Nogoro. Je n'écris tout ceci que pour remplir ma journée.

Jeudi, 1er septembre

Il ne s'est passé aujourd'hui aucun événement intéressant. Les coupeurs d'herbes se sont saisis d'un barandal que les soldats du kraton ont fusillé. Au rapport du Javan, porteur de lettres de Klaten, il y avait très peu de brigands sur le chemin, mais la route était très embarrassée d'arbres, de bambous [et] de trous. Ils ont employé tous leurs moyens pour la rendre impraticable.

Vendredi, 2 septembre

La misère augmente tous les jours: une tasse à thé chinoise de riz vaut 12 sols et cela est loin de suffire à la consommation d'un homme ⁽¹⁹³⁾. C'est dans le kraton que la famine se fait le plus sentir: il y est mort cinq personnes d'inani-

tion selon le rapport qu'on en a fait ce matin au lieutenant Wiseman. Les rebelles, ne pouvant réussir par la force, veulent nous affamer. Ils ont pour cela disposé des gardes sur toutes les avenues qui massacrent tous les Javans qui tentent d'apporter quelque denrée dans Djocja ⁽¹⁹⁴⁾. L'arrivée de vivres et de secours devient pressante et cependant on dit que S. E. le général De Kock ne peut arriver que pour le dix [septembre]. Les brigands, ayant attiré quelques coupeurs d'herbes dans un village sous prétexte de leur vendre du sucre [d'arèn] leur ont coupé la tête; un autre de ces malheureux a été blessé mortellement dans la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara].

Samedi, 3 sepembre

J'ai écrit à Sagermans. Du reste, rien de nouveau. Voici la copie d'une lettre officielle Nr 376; à l'oeuvre on reconnaîtra le maître ⁽¹⁹⁵⁾:

«Djocja-Karta, 6 augustus 1825 ⁽¹⁹⁶⁾.

«Met leedwezen moet ik UWEd. kennis geven dat het volk van Z.H den Sultan meest allen weggelopen zijn zoodat thans weinig volk meer de kraton bewaakt, en wij, geen genoegzaam troepen hebbende, niet in staat zijn dezelve te bewaken.

«Gisteren zijn 30 priesters tegelijk weggelopen en van de prajoerits blijven er nog maar weinig over. Zonder spoedige hulp raakt de kraton in vijands handen en waarschijnlijk ook de jonge Sultan en de Ratoe Agoeng met de Tommongong majoor Wiro Ngoro, de enigste die ons nog getrouw schijnt te wezen. Of wel men veraadt ons weder van die kanten en Ratoe Agoeng met Wiro Ngoro nemen de jonge Sultan met zich en vervoegen zich tot de vijandige prinsen.

«In dat geval hebben wij niemand meer om ons bij te staan: wij zullen ons in het fort moeten opsluiten, de Europeesche en Chineesche kampen in de brand zien steken en, zonder het te kunnen beletten, de ingezetenen van beide die kampen zien vermoorden zonder hem enig hulp te kunnen toebrengen, en wij zullen uit gebrek in het fort omkomen. Welk een schrikkelijk vooruitzicht !

«Weest zoo goed de inhoud van deze brief mede te deelen aan Zijne Excellentie den Luit.-Gouverneur [De Kock] alzo het mogelijk is dat mijn brief, aan Zijne Excellentie voor Klaten verzonden wordende, niet teregt kwam.

«Gisteren is de Tommongong [Ranadiningrat ?] de wacht had aan de pilaar [Witte Paal] door een bende rovers aangevallen en aan den arm gewond door een geweerschot, terwijl een van zijn gevolg een schot gekregen heeft aan [f.10] het been. Het is de groote dag van de oude Sultan die te Soerabaya is ⁽¹⁹⁷⁾.

«Aan den Heere Resident van Kadoe».

Voici quelques traits d'une proclamation de la même personne [i.e. Smis-saert] promulguée le [... août 1825] ⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ à l'effet d'engager les habitants et chefs à rentrer dans leur devoir et de profiter du pardon qu'il leur est offert par le résident et par leur souverain [i.e. Sultan Hamengkubuwana V]. Après quelque menace de nos armes, on lit ce qui suit ⁽¹⁹⁹⁾:

«Reeds hebt gijlieden ondervonden het vermogen onzer wapens, getuige de vele ongelukkigen die (uw) neergevallen zijn: ons kruit en lood veranderd in geen water ⁽²⁰⁰⁾ gelijk uwe domme priesters, waarvan de meeste noch schrijven noch lezen kunnen veel minder verstaan de Mahomedaansche godsdienst, uwlieden hebben wijs gemaakt; bedervers uwlieder rust en huiselijke genoegens, verstaan zij de kunst uwlieden, onnozele, goede menschen te bedriegen en zich ten uwen kost te verrijken».

Après cette inutile diatribe contre les prêtres, on trouve ce qui suit ⁽²⁰¹⁾:

«Allen die hierwaarts willen komen moeten zich ongewapend bij de Rijksbestuurder vervoegen en tot bewijs van hunnen goede en vreedezame gezindheid moeten zij eene weinig brandhout, gras of andere kleinigheden, producten hunner landen medebrengen...»

Ensuite l'auteur fait un essai de confiance qu'il a inspiré aux Javans ⁽²⁰²⁾:

«Gij kent mij, nimmer heb ik gekneveld of mishandeld gedurende mijn vier en twintig jarig verblijf op dit eiland, maar altijd heb ik uwe belangen voorgestaan. Ik verlang alleen de herstelling van uwe vorige rust. Zijt gij verongelikt: brengt voor mij uwe bezwaren, ik zal u regt doen wedervaren ! Geeft gehoor aan mijne welmeende vaderlijke vermaningen. Keer tot de bebouwing uwer velden etc...»

L'Européen, qui connaît le caractère de la plupart des peuples de l'Inde et leur principe d'obéissance passive, pourra juger de cette manière paternelle du maître pour rappeler ses sujets au devoir !

Dimanche, 4 septembre

La journée a été extrêmement tranquille: pour écrire quelque chose je suis encore obligé de rapporter une lettre écrite au résident de Kadou en date du 23 août, du même écrivain que les pièces que j'ai citées plus haut ⁽²⁰³⁾. Après avoir décrit notre malheureuse position, le besoin des bourgeois et des Chinois et l'escarmouche du 22 [août] ⁽²⁰⁴⁾, il parle en ces termes des dépenses que lui occasionnent les circonstances ⁽²⁰⁵⁾ :

«Morgen vieren wij de jaardag van Z.M. de Koning [Willem I]. Dagelijks hebben wij aan 80 menschen ten minste de kost te geven want de meeste officieren, zoowel van onze troepen als die van den Keizer [i.e. Sunan Pakubuwana VI] en van den Prins Manko Ngoro, eeten bij ons, kunnende zij zelve niets te koop krijgen. Hierbij hebben wij gelogeerd de vorstelijke familie, die niets heeft voor de dagelijkse consumptie. Dus kunt UEd. wel nagaan dat onze huishouding thans zeer kostbaar is [en] wij dezelve niet lang meer kunnen gaande houden».

Il est vrai que le résident a nourri les officiers des troupes alliées: le colonel Achenbach et quelques officiers et carabins, mais [les] capitaines Boewens, Verboon, Van Ganzen, Keer, Monnoye, Komsius [et les] lieutenants Mossel, Steenberg [Van Steenberg] ⁽²⁰⁶⁾, Le Clerq [Le Clercq] ⁽²⁰⁷⁾, Vanderplats [Van der Plas], Gaum ⁽²⁰⁸⁾, Delatre, Abell, [De] Burbure et le medecin Ghislain [Ghislain] ⁽²⁰⁹⁾, n'ont mangé chez lui que par invitation écrite, et que la famille du sultan s'est toujours nourrie d'aliments préparés dans le kraton et payés par la Ratou Agon. Ainsi c'est un mensonge que de porter cette dépense en compte ⁽²¹⁰⁾. D'ailleurs ce n'est le premier ni le dernier. Le soir au dîner de Monsieur le résident, nous fûmes surpris d'entendre une bruyante musique de bastringue destinée à récréer ou à étourdir messieurs les convives.

La famine [qui] tourmente le kraton, les bourgeois et les Chinois, fait un terrible contraste avec ce repas joyeux. Un officier qui y assistait et qui descendait de la garde du kraton ⁽²¹¹⁾ raconta que la Ratou Agon l'avait fait prier de conserver pour les enfants naturels du sultan le riz qui pourrait rester à leur repas, [parce] que ces pauvres enfants venaient leur demander de quoi manger plusieurs fois par jour.*

On l'interrompit pour lui dire qu'il était bien bon de s'attendrir pour de pareils contes, que la Ratou Agon était une vieille canaille qui cachait de l'argent et refusait d'en aider le gouvernement et que l'on aurait beau faire s'il fallait prendre soins de tous ces fils de P...

Quand le général [i.e. De Kock] arrivera-t-il ?

Lundi, 5 septembre

Ce matin un de nos espions fit rapport qu'il avait appris qu'un corps de 6 à 7.000 des troupes de Solo et du prince Manko Ngoro était arrivé au travers du Goenoeng Kidoul [Gunung Kidul] (montagnes du Sud) à Blimbing et [à...] ⁽²¹²⁾ dans l'intention de se rendre maître du Mingiri [Imagiri] ⁽²¹³⁾ et d'empêcher ainsi le passage à l'ennemi au cas qu'il voulût chercher un refuge dans ces montagnes. Divers chefs rebelles ont été dirigés sur la route de Klaten pour empêcher le passage d'une grande colonne de troupes qui marche vers nous. Le nom des chefs, et les postes qu'ils devaient occuper, est contenu dans ce rapport qui ranime l'espoir que nous avons d'être bientôt secourus. Cependant, de notre côté, nous n'avons reçu aucune nouvelle officielle.

Le soir, repas et musique. Nous savons par le rapport fait au lieutenant Wiseman que, dans la nuit du 2 au 3 [septembre] il est mort de faim cinq personnes dans le kraton.

Mardi, 6 septembre

Le capitaine Van Ganzen, avec un piquet, est allé ce matin près du premier pont sur la route de Klaten pour soutenir des gens du Radèn Adipati qui travail-

* Payen has originally inserted the «qui», but then crossed it out. The sentence however, makes no sense without it.

lent à rétablir le conduit ou canal qui amène l'eau dans le fossé du fort ⁽²¹⁴⁾. Il paraît que faute de cette eau, nos puits dans l'intérieur sont aussi à sec. Je m'offris pour visiter l'état de ce conduit en le remontant à partir du fort. Chevallier, Monnoye et le lieutenant Abell vinrent avec moi outre six soldats européens pour nous escorter. Nous remontâmes le canal [à] environ un mille de Djocja. Là, nous vîmes l'eau qui arrivait mais les sables qu'elle doit traverser l'empêchent jusqu'à ce moment de parvenir au fort. Une lettre adressée à un Chinois nous apprend que ceux de cette nation qui se sont rassemblés à Djono [Jana] dans le Bagalen [Bagelèn]⁽²¹⁵⁾ continuent à tenir contre les révoltés. Mais ils sont fort pressés: beaucoup d'entre eux sont malades et ils craignent de ne pouvoir résister plus longtemps à l'ennemi. Le besoin nous tourmente de plus en plus. Quelques femmes sont venues de Pantjou: elles ont rapporté que les brigands avaient rasé jusqu'au pied toute la plantation de Monsieur Bowens van der Boyen ⁽²¹⁶⁾. Ils ont déterré l'argent qu'on y avait enterré et arraché jusqu'aux fleurs du jardin. Ces femmes n'avaient rencontré personne sur leur chemin.

Mercredi, 7 septembre

[f.1] Ce matin quelques brigands se sont montrés vers [le] Pakou Alaman. Le capitaine Cloesterhuis les a renvoyés avec quelques coups de canon. Le soir un Chinois est arrivé de Selarong. Pris en cherchant à se procurer de la subsistance, il parvint cependant à s'échapper. Il dit que Dipo Ngoro a donné l'ordre de ne plus nous attaquer et de se borner à défendre avec soin le passage des vivres. Il a annoncé qu'il voulait périr dans Selarong qu'il a fait fortifier d'un fossé et d'une palissade défendue par huit petits canons ⁽²¹⁷⁾ dont l'un, si on veut l'en croire, est un poussaka [pusaka] descendu du ciel et que pour cette raison on [le] couvre religieusement d'une pièce de soie (tjindé [cindhé]) ⁽²¹⁸⁾. Il a aussi demandé ceux qui étaient décidés à mourir avec lui et 152 rebelles lui en ont prêté le serment. D'autre part, on nous dit que plusieurs d'essas ne veulent plus lui obéir et que leur intention est d'arborer un drapeau blanc pour se faire reconnaître ⁽²¹⁹⁾. Ces rapports nous ont été confirmés par d'autres personnes qui ont aussi quitté Selarong. Quand S.E. le lieutenant-gouverneur arrivera-t-il ? La livre de riz valait hier f. 1.15 ⁽²²⁰⁾.

Jeudi, 8 septembre

Rien de bien particulier. Un coupeur d'herbe, pris par les brigands ces jours passés, a été renvoyé de Selarong parce qu'il s'est dit appartenir aux troupes de l'empereur de Solo [Pakubuwana VI] ⁽²²¹⁾. Ceux qui appartiennent aux Hollandais, Chinois, aux princes Mangko Ngoro [et] Pakou Alam [et au] [Radèn Tumenggung major] Wiro Ngoro ou au Raden Adipati [Danureja IV] sont décapités impitoyablement. Aucune nouvelle de Solo. Écrit à Monsieur de [Van der] Capellen ⁽²²²⁾, à Sagermans et à Saleh ⁽²²³⁾. Selon les rapports, l'ennemi doit attaquer demain [le] Pakou Alaman. C'est toujours la même chose.

Vendredi, 9 septembre

Il ne s'est rien passé qui mérite l'attention. L'ennemi a rompu cette nuit

la digue que nous avons rétablie pour amener l'eau dans le fort ⁽²²⁴⁾. Il continue à nous resserrer de plus en plus.

Samedi, 10 septembre

Ce matin Chevallier, d'autres personnes et moi étions sortis de la palissade pour voir essayer un mortier à grenade. Monsieur le résident s'y trouvait aussi. On envoya quelques hommes reconnaître l'endroit où le projectile, qui n'avait éclaté, était tombé. Alors s'engagea une fusillade: quelques balles, ou plutôt quelques lingots d'étain, tombèrent parmi nous. Un d'eux siffla d'une telle manière à nos oreilles que nous baissâmes tous la tête. [Le] capitaine Monnoye avec quelques soldats chassa ces tirailleurs jusqu'au-delà de la rivière. Pendant ce temps l'ennemi paraissait sur plusieurs points vers [le] Pakou Alaman. On tira le canon pendant un couple d'heures. [Le] capitaine Verboon mit ses hussards en bataille et vers les dix heures, l'ennemi se retira. Il a montré aujourd'hui plus de fermeté et paraissait plus nombreux que ces jours passés. Il paraît maintenant que nous ne devons attendre le général [i.e. De Kock] que pour le 15 [septembre]. Notre situation nous effraye. Le courage s'éteint et l'avenir fait frémir. Aucune nouvelle.

Dimanche, 11 septembre

Le commandant envoya un détachement pour rétablir la digue du kali Tjodé [Codé] ⁽²²⁵⁾, mais les brigands s'étaient établis en nombre dans les environs de la rivière; le détachement fut obligé de laisser cet ouvrage. Le soir [De] Burbure et Abell, se promenant à cheval en avant du Pakou Alaman, aperçurent deux hommes qui accouraient vers eux; d'autres les poursuivaient à une courte distance. Les premiers [tenaient] des papiers [à la main]*. Alors ces deux messieurs piquèrent des deux vers ces deux hommes qui étaient des messagers de Pakou Alam avec des lettres de Klaten et de Semarang. Par notre situation, on peut juger de l'intérêt qu'inspiraient ces lettres et avec quelle impatience nous attendions leur distribution. Mais leur contenu diminue encore notre espoir et augmente notre malheur. Jusqu'à ce moment, des circonstances graves ont empêché le général de venir plus tôt à notre secours. Sans fixer le jour, il nous annonce qu'il va arriver et que, de Djenou [Jenu] ⁽²²⁶⁾, il annoncera son approche par trois coups de canon. Il termine sa lettre datée du 10 [septembre] en disant que tout est tranquille. Une lettre, que notre ami Monnoye a reçu de son épouse, nous a expliqué les circonstances graves et très inquiétantes dont parle le général. Les districts de Grobogan et de Demak, [dans la] résidence de Semarang, se sont soulevés ⁽²²⁷⁾. L'insurrection y est générale: une expédition est sortie de Semarang contre les rebelles sous les ordres d'un capitaine [De] Lasassie [Lasasie] ⁽²²⁸⁾. A cent hommes d'infanterie, on avait joint les équipages des vaisseaux en rade et un détachement de bourgeoisie à cheval avec trois pièces de cam-

* In the original Payen has merely written «le premier un papier».

pagne. Le 3 du courant [i.e. septembre] il y eut un combat qui tourna à notre désavantage: nous devons avoir perdu notre artillerie, beaucoup de monde, et onze ou douze cavaliers bourgeois ⁽²²⁹⁾. *Les rebelles ont profité de leur victoire et se sont approchés de Semarang où ils [ont] jeté beaucoup de frayeur. Le général Van Geen y était arrivé le 31 [août] et non le 22 [août]. Il y est aussi arrivé 300 de troupes de Sourabaya, et l'on en attend de Borneo et de Batavia qui viennent d'arriver d'Europe. Hélas, tous ces renforts arriveront-ils à temps ? Quel avenir ! Reverrai-je ma patrie et ...*

Lundi, 12 septembre

Nous avons plusieurs officiers de malades, entre autres le capitaine Boens. Chevallier a aussi pris la fièvre ce matin. Le soir [le] capitaine Monnoye a reçu l'ordre de préparer une forte sortie pour demain matin. La journée a été très tranquille. Nous n'avons pas encore entendu les bienheureux coups de canon.

Mardi, 13 septembre

L'ami Monnoye s'était trouvé très incommodé cette nuit, [les] capitaines Kloesterhuis et Keer sont sortis avec le détachement. Ayant pris par la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara], ils ont tourné vers l'ouest et ont passé le Winongo [Kali Winonga] ⁽²³⁰⁾ et attaqué l'ennemi qui était en force du côté de Tegal Ridjo.

Ce ne fut qu'après une assez vive fusillade qu'il [i.e. l'ennemi] abandonna un dessa ou village où nous trouvâmes du riz et du sel. Le manque de koulis empêcha de beaucoup [en] profiter. Les brigands arrivaient sur les troupes de tous les points et il fallut se retirer et repasser la rivière. L'ennemi suivait de très près jusqu'à sur ces bords. Alors le lieutenant Mossel, avec la pièce de campagne, commença à tirer sur eux et ils prirent la fuite. Notre détachement rentra en ordre n'ayant perdu que deux hommes de Solo qui étaient restés en arrière dans le village ⁽²³¹⁾ que l'on avait pillé. Le soir le résident reçut des lettres du Kadoe dont le contenu paraît très satisfaisant: toute cette résidence est pacifiée. [Le] colonel Cleerens ⁽²³²⁾ y est arrivé avec Monsieur Holmberg [de Beckfelt] ⁽²³³⁾, après avoir fait rentrer dans l'ordre les districts du Djabarangka [Jabarangkah] ⁽²³⁴⁾. Le Panembahan de Sumanap [Sumenep], arrivé à Samarang avec 3.000 hommes, a attaqué et soumis Demak ⁽²³⁵⁾. L'assistant-résident de Solo Tiga [Salatiga] [P.H. van Reede van Oudtshoorn] a pris un chef des rebelles qui avait plusieurs petites pièces d'artillerie ⁽²³⁶⁾. Il est à espérer que nous allons [f.12] recevoir des renforts qui nous mettront à même d'attaquer à notre tour et surtout nous apporteront les vivres dont nous allons absolument manquer. Ce jour nous n'avons eu pour nourriture que du boubour [bubur] fait de riz et d'amande de cocotier. C'est un misérable manger qui remplit et nourrit peu. Chevallier et Monnoye sont mieux.

Mercredi, 14 septembre

Rien ne s'est passé qui mérite l'attention. Le soir on a mis aux arrêts trois

Tomenggons de Solo, de ceux qui devaient aller reprendre le gouvernement de leurs régences respectives. On dit qu'ils ont voulu nous quitter clandestinement.

Cela n'est pas étonnant: ces pauvres gens meurent de faim et déjà ils ont vendu tout ce qu'ils possédaient. Dans ce temps malheureux ce qui fait peine aux honnêtes gens c'est de voir des particuliers, voire même un de nos officiers, profiter de la détresse où tout le monde se trouve pour acquérir à bas prix des objets très précieux, ou prêter à un intérêt qui bientôt surpasse le capital ⁽²³⁷⁾. Le général n'arrivera-t-il pas ?

Jeudi, 15 septembre

Le bruit s'est répandu que le général n'arrivera que le 18 [septembre]. Nos vivres pour les troupes étaient épuisés depuis hier, mais on en a encore rassemblé pour trois jours. L'ennemi paraît s'être porté sur quelque autre point car il y a peu de monde autour de nous. Ils se bornent à empêcher toute communication. Un dragon du lieutenant Wiseman, s'étant trop avancé pour chercher des vivres, a été pris par les brigands. On dit qu'il a été habillé en Javan ⁽²³⁸⁾ et conduit à Selarong.

Vendredi, 16 septembre

Nous avons reçu des lettres ce matin: Sagermans, qui n'a reçu aucune des miennes, m'écrit qu'un transport considérable de vivres est arrivé à Klaten, mais il paraît que le général ne viendra à notre secours que vers le 20 [septembre]. Les lettres de Samarang sont toujours inquiétantes: nous avons 2.000 hommes à Demak où le général Van Geen a été en personne. Les rebelles de ce côté paraissent se diriger sur Oenarang [Ungaran]. On a arrêté le régent de Samarang, dont les deux fils se sont enfuis. Il est peut-être question du vieux Régent Adi Mangolo [Adimanggala]. Cela m'afflige par rapport à Saleh, mon élève, qui est son parent ⁽²³⁹⁾. Le 11 [septembre] tout était tranquille à Samarang. On nous a fait part d'un rapport inséré dans la gazette de Batavia ⁽²⁴⁰⁾: après avoir fait mention du zèle de tous les officiers de notre garnison, on y cite comme s'étant particulièrement distingués les capitaines Comsius, Keer et le lieutenant Sikes [Sickesz]. D'après la manière dont s'est conduit le premier dans les diverses escarmouches où il s'est trouvé, ce rapport a beaucoup indisposé nos autres officiers*. Plusieurs en ont témoigné hautement leur mécontentement. On a répondu que ceux qui avaient eu quelques commandements particuliers auraient dû, comme le capitaine Comsius, en faire de longs** rapports par écrit ⁽²⁴¹⁾. C'est prévenir ces messieurs que, dans leur art, le style est pour beaucoup et que les sottises bien écrites feront toujours fortune. Je dois avouer que c'est assez la mode dans ce pays et ce n'est pas la première fois que je m'en aperçois.

* Payen originally wrote «a donné beaucoup de mécontentement aux autres», and then crossed «a donné» and everything after «beaucoup».

** Underlined by Payen in the original.

Samedi, 17 septembre

Quelques brigands ont essayé cette nuit d'entrer dans le camp européen: un d'eux a été tué, les autres ont pris la fuite. On dit que quelques Chinois font cause commune avec les rebelles et que deux d'entre eux ont le projet d'assassiner le capitaine chinois [Kapitan Cina] ⁽²⁴²⁾. Quelle canaille ! Aujourd'hui une femme a apporté au major Tomungong Wiro Ngoro une lettre d'Adi Ngoro écrite au nom de Dipo Ngoro qui se nomme sultan et prend un grand nombre de titres des plus fastueux ⁽²⁴³⁾. Panguerang Amanko Boumi [Mangkubumi] a pris celui de Panumbahan ⁽²⁴⁴⁾. Le nouveau sultan se donne comme un apôtre de l'islamisme venant régénérer la religion chez les Javans ⁽²⁴⁵⁾. Un moment après, il parle d'un Kiai Gourou [Kyai guru] du dessa Bendoh [Bendha] ⁽²⁴⁶⁾ qui lui a dit d'engager encore le Tomogong Wiro Ngoro, dans le courage duquel le peuple a grande confiance, à quitter la cause des infidèles pour joindre ses frères les croyants. Il se donne pour caution (lui, Adi Ngoro) qu'il n'a rien à craindre pour sa sûreté: il lui en répond dans cette vie et dans l'autre. Le brave major a remis cette lettre au résident avec lequel il a eu une longue conférence dont il n'a pas paru content. Il a dit, étant revenu au kraton ... * [qu']on lui a reproché la désertion des gens du kraton; mais comment tenir des hommes qui meurent de faim ? Le résident a écrit officiellement à Chevallier pour le charger de faire les honneurs de la résidence** ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ pendant qu'il irait au-devant de S.E. le lieutenant-gouverneur jusqu'à Djenoe [Jenu] ⁽²⁴⁸⁾. Ceci est très contradictoire avec une autre lettre, écrite précédemment, où il lui dit qu'il ne veut plus le voir dans sa maison. Une chose certaine c'est que S.E. traite les affaires avec Monsieur Achenbach et que le résident ne reçoit aucune lettre ⁽²⁴⁹⁾.

Dimanche, 18 septembre***

Je me suis occupé pendant ces jours derniers à faire une copie de la carte figurative des environs de Djocja. La première que j'ai faite, à force de corrections, était devenue très malpropre. Ce soir un chef de Solo qui suivait le parti ennemi s'est présenté pour se soumettre. Il commande environ 700 hommes du côté de Gamping. Son pardon a été accordé et il a prêté serment de fidélité sur le Koran. Cette circonstance peut nous être d'un grand avantage; reste à savoir jusqu'à quel point nous devons avoir confiance en lui. Enfin le moment approche, j'espère, où nous serons délivrés. On fait la distribution des derniers vivres.

Lundi, 19 septembre

Le chef, dont j'ai parlé hier, est encore revenu ce matin s'assurer des bonnes

* Payen has left dots after «kraton» in the original.

** Payen has originally written «de la maison de la résidence», and then crossed out the word «maison».

*** Opposite the entry for this day, Payen has written the following: «Le résident a écrit à Chevallier pour qu'il fit les honneurs de la maison du résident à la tête des employés et des principaux bourgeois lors de l'arrivée de S.E. le lieutenant-général. Cette lettre est un peu contradictoire avec celle du 19 du mois passé [i.e. août]. Sentirait-il la nécessité de filer doux?»

dispositions de ses gens. Il promet les têtes de deux autres chefs. On m'a dit qu'ils attendraient pour se déclarer l'arrivée du général. Tout paraît tranquille dans les environs quoique, selon nos espions, nous aurions dû être attaqués.

Mardi, 20 septembre

Le jour est arrivé où nous devons être secourus. Demain nos soldats et nos alliés n'ont plus une l. [livre] de riz à manger. Avant midi, le lieutenant-colonel Achenbach donna les ordres pour former le détachement qui doit sortir au moment où l'on entendra le canon de Djenoe. Il est difficile à dépeindre l'inquiétude et l'impatience qui nous travaillent. Ces mots: «n'avez-vous rien entendu?», se répétaient partout. A trois heures et demie nous sortîmes du fort avec Chevallier et déjà l'espoir nous abandonnait. Un hussard arrive ventre à terre. On a entendu le signal tant désiré. Et cette nouvelle se communique comme l'électricité: les soldats sortent armés de leur caserne sans en attendre l'ordre [f. 15] et le détachement, fort de 400 hommes avec deux pièces de canon aux ordres des capitaines Verboon et Van Ganzen, sort par la grande avenue [Jalan Maliabara]. Monsieur le résident les suivit à cheval avec un joli petit sabre qui lui donnait la figure d'un joli petit Sancho au gros bon sens près⁽²⁵⁰⁾. A six heures nous apprîmes que nos troupes avaient rencontré l'avant-garde du convoi de vivres, que le général n'arriverait que dans quelques jours et que le colonel Cochius nous amenait seulement du renfort. Un moment après, le lieutenant Schlosser**⁽²⁵¹⁾, avec les Tomogong de Delango [Delanggu] et Kali Koenig [Kali Kuning]⁽²⁵²⁾ et leurs brandals ou troupes irrégulières, entrèrent par l'avenue du Pakou Alaman.*

*Ce lieutenant et les deux Tomogong que j'ai nommés se sont particulièrement distingués dans les environs de Klaten. Après nombre de petits combats, ils sont parvenus à rétablir la tranquillité jusqu'à Brambanan et dans tout le pays entre le [Gunung] Marah Api et les montagnes du Sud [Gunung Kidul]***. Et vers neuf heures arrivèrent les lieutenants-colonels Cochius, Gaie [Gey]⁽²⁵³⁾, [le] capitaine Du Bus⁽²⁵⁴⁾, [le] major Paris de Montaigu et le Pangerang Adipati de Bankalan [Bangkalan] à Madura⁽²⁵⁵⁾. La colonne pouvait monter à quatre mille hommes⁽²⁵⁶⁾ dont mille Madurais, la compagnie de flanqueurs du 18ème régiment, cinquante canonniers avec leur capitaine, Stenneken [Stennekes ?]⁽²⁵⁷⁾ et quelques autres troupes du Sousouhoenan [Susuhunan Pakubuwana VI] et du prince Manko Ngoro, plus des provisions et munitions etc. Les lettres furent distribuées et j'en reçus trois. La première, qui était officielle, m'apprenait que, par mesure économique prise par le gouvernement d'Europe, mon emploi d'architecte de S.E. le gouverneur-général était supprimé, ce qui me remet au même point que je me trouvais il y a huit ans⁽²⁵⁸⁾.*

* After this Payen has written, but subsequently erased, the following: «*de prendre les armes*».

** Payen has written «... le lieutenant Schlosser qui...» which would seem to make no sense.

*** Payen has written after this sentence: «*entrèrent à Djocja par l'avenue du Pakou Alaman*», which duplicates a sentence he has already included above.

La fortune commence à me tourner le dos ! Deux lettres de Schneither me marquent qu'il a aussi souffert ainsi que nombre d'employés de ces économies, mais tous ces messieurs ont des gros appointements et cela ne doit pas leur être aussi sensible qu'à moi.*

Mercredi, 21 septembre.

*Ce matin, le colonel Cochius me remit une lettre de S.E. le gouverneur-général [G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen]: elle contenait l'assurance que des ordres péremptaires de S.M. [Sa Majesté] le forçaient de me supprimer, [mais] qu'il prenait toute la part possible à la perte que je faisais; enfin cette lettre me consola presque de mon chagrin** et elle accrut ma reconnaissance pour S.E. [le gouverneur-général]. Demain, le colonel Cochius retourne à Klaten avec une partie des troupes qu'il a amenées et quelques autres de la garnison que l'on retire. Je profiterai de cette occasion pour quitter Djocja où mon amitié pour Chevallier m'a retenu peut-être un peu plus qu'il ne fallait et où certainement, cher amie [?] ⁽²⁵⁹⁾, j'ai passablement souffert de tous les désagréments d'un siège. J'ai pris congé de Monsieur le résident qui a bien voulu me souhaiter un bon voyage. Ensuite, avec la ménagère de Sagermans [la dame Catherine], nous avons travaillé toute la journée à emballer ce que nous pouvons emporter de ces effets. Je me suis acheté un cheval et demain nous quitterons un séjour que j'ai trouvé le plus beau, le plus agréable et le plus ennuyeux que j'aie visité à Java.*

Jeudi, 22 septembre

Après avoir pris congé de Chevallier, de Verboon et de mes autres compagnons de détresse, j'ai joint la colonne qui a quitté Djocja vers les six heures du matin. Ma caravane particulière était composée de dame Catherine dans un tandoh [tandhu] ⁽²⁶⁰⁾ et de quinze pikoulans [pikulan] ⁽²⁶¹⁾ des effets de l'ami Sagermans. Notre colonne avait bien trois mille d'étendue et contenait plus de cinq mille personnes. L'avant-garde avait deux pièces protégées par cinquante hussards, trente flanqueurs et une partie des troupes du prince Ario Manko Ngoro. Nous prîmes notre chemin par l'avenue du Pakou Alaman et ce ne fut qu'à l'approche de la maison de campagne de Poerwo Ridjo [Purwareja] ⁽²⁶²⁾ que nous rencontrâmes les avant-postes des rebelles. Il s'engagea une fusillade assez vive et l'on tira quelques coups de canon. Alors l'ennemi abandonna ce poste sans nous faire éprouver aucune perte. Il aurait pu, avec un peu de courage, nous faire payer plus cher notre passage au travers des murs qui entourent cette campagne et celle de Wono Tjator [Wanacatur] et de Pengawat ridjo [Pengawat-reja] ⁽²⁶³⁾. Après avoir passé la rivière Gajawong [Kali Gajahwong] ⁽²⁶⁴⁾, la colonne prit le chemin qui conduit vers Njamplong [Nyamplung] ⁽²⁶⁵⁾. Je me trouvais avec les dragons du Sousouhounan et le lieutenant Schlosser. Nous prîmes sur la droite et bientôt tous les dessus qui se trouvaient sur notre passage

* Payen had originally written «consolent» and then crossed it out.

** Payen had originally written «chagrin que j'éprouvais», but then crossed out «que j'éprouvais» and inserted «et».

furent en feu. Je ne vis jamais un tel incendie. Quel triste spectacle que de voir détruire un beau pays ! Du moins nous pouvons croire que nul habitant n'a péri car nous ne vîmes personne: la population entière avait fui. Nous revînmes sur la grande route [de Solo] près de Kali Kouning [Kuning]. Là une troupe de rebelles commença à nous harceler, nous envoyant des coups de fusils au travers des haies et des buissons, mais si loin qu'ils ne nous firent aucun mal. Ils nous suivirent cependant jusqu'à la rivière Opak où nous rejoignîmes l'arrière-garde de la grande colonne. Deux coups de canon les firent disparaître. Après avoir pris un moment de repos au bord de la rivière [i.e. Kali Opak], on fit filer le bagage puisque tout ce côté était tranquille. Les troupes furent rassemblées à l'arrière-garde et nous continuâmes notre marche jusqu'à Kali Gondang [Gondhang] ⁽²⁶⁶⁾. Le pays paraissait abandonné de l'autre côté de la rivière jusqu'à Klaten. Les Javans travaillaient aux champs. A deux heures j'arrivais à Klaten et le cher capitaine commandant Sagermans s'empressa de nous faire oublier les privations que nous avions éprouvées. Le soir messieurs Cochijs, Gaïe [et] Sturtun [?] ⁽²⁶⁷⁾ partirent pour Soura Karta. Dans la nuit sont arrivés le capitaine Bourdon ⁽²⁶⁸⁾, mon compatriote, et la 1^{ère} et la 5^{ème} compagnie du 18^e régiment; un Pangerang de Madura avec 600 hommes arrivèrent à Klaten.

Vendredi, 23 septembre

Dans la matinée sont arrivés les Pangerang Pourboyo [Purbaya], Ario Mataram [Aria Mataram] et Pangerang Bey [Ngabèhi] ⁽²⁶⁹⁾ avec 2.000 hommes.

Vers les huit heures du soir le général Van Geen arriva à Klaten avec messieurs Cochijs, Gaïe, etc. et le Panembahan de Sumanap. S.E. le lieutenant-gouverneur arrivera demain.

Samedi, 24 septembre

Vers deux heures du matin est arrivé le major Solwyn [Sollewijn] ⁽²⁷⁰⁾ et les capitaines van de Polder ⁽²⁷¹⁾ et Servais ⁽²⁷²⁾, 200 hommes européens du 18^e, et 600 Madurais. [f. 14] A sept heures du matin S.E. le lieutenant-gouverneur De Kock, le résident de Soura Karta, MacGillavry, les aides-de-camp, major Elout ⁽²⁷³⁾, capitaines Koelman ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ et De Stuers ⁽²⁷⁵⁾, et lieutenant De Kock ⁽²⁷⁶⁾ arrivèrent à Klaten. Dans la matinée S.E. fit l'honneur de m'entretenir. Je fis mon possible pour lui donner tous les renseignements que j'avais pu recueillir. Il paraît que l'on a pris toutes les mesures possibles pour empêcher que les princes rebelles n'échappent de Selarong. Le colonel Cleerens, major De Bast et Monsieur Holmberg [de Beckfelt], assistant-résident de Kandal [Kendhal], marchent par Menoreg [Menorèh] pour se jeter derrière le [Kali] Praga ⁽²⁷⁷⁾. Les montagnes du Sud [Gunung Kidul] sont gardées par les troupes du prince Ario Manko Nogro ⁽²⁷⁸⁾. Ce prince et le Panumbahan de Sumanap montrent dans ce moment critique un zèle et un attachement à notre gouvernement que l'on ne peut trop louer. J'ai appris que, vu la mauvaise conduite tenue dans les conjectures présentes par Monsieur le résident Smissart, il allait être suspendu ⁽²⁷⁹⁾. La carte, que j'ai fabriquée, et les renseignements que Che-

vallier a, ont été goûtés: ils se rapportent généralement avec les notions que ces messieurs avaient recueillies à Solo. Du moins mon long séjour à Djocja n'a pas été tout à fait inutile.

Dans l'expédition que le général Van Geen a faite dernièrement à Demak, une des personnes arrivées ce matin commandait une colonne ⁽²⁸⁰⁾. Le dessein du général avait été de laisser exécuter en partie la manoeuvre ordinaire de l'ennemi qui cherche toujours, en se retirant sans combattre, à vous entourer, d'attaquer ensuite vivement son centre [et] de le couper. Pendant que la colonne et l'officier dont je viens de parler, qui marchait parallèlement au corps du général, aurait pris l'ennemi à dos et en flanc de manière qu'il ne fût rien échappé de plus de 2.000* hommes qui furent effectivement coupés et séparés de leurs confédérés. Mais cet officier, qui ternit de grandes qualités par un amour-propre désordonné, ne suivit pas les ordres qu'on lui avait donnés et il fit manquer une manoeuvre dont le succès était certain, ce qui obligea le général [Van Geen] à le faire relever de son commandement. On m'a entretenu aussi sur le capitaine Comsius: il paraît que l'on se repent de l'avoir si légèrement inséré dans la gazette ⁽²⁸¹⁾.

A cinq heures le général Van Geen passa l'inspection de notre petite armée, divisée en trois colonnes selon l'ordre qu'elle doit observer demain en marchant à Djocja. La première colonne est sous les ordres du major Solwyn, la seconde est commandée par le capitaine Van de Polder et la troisième par le capitaine Bourdon. Toute la soirée et la plus grande partie de la nuit, [ils] ont préparé les vivres et bagages.

Dimanche, 25 septembre

A trois heures du matin, le général Van Geen a quitté Klaten avec la première colonne; à quatre heures S.E. le lieutenant-général [De Kock] partit avec la seconde et vers les six heures [le] capitaine Bourdon ferma la marche avec la troisième, ce qui forma en tout un corps de 600 hommes sous les armes, tant troupes régulières qu'alliés armés de piques seulement. Vers une heure le lieutenant Schlosser nous quitta aussi avec Monsieur [Von] Krigenberg [Kriegenbergh], outre les troupes irrégulières commandées par le Raden Tomogong ... ⁽²⁸²⁾. Il a avec lui 230 hommes de troupes du Sousouhoenan, deux petites pièces [et] quatre hussards. Ce camp volant va prendre poste aux environs de Brambanan. Pour faciliter la communication, on laissera aussi à cet effet un détachement à Djenoe.

Lundi, 26 septembre

Rien de neuf. Je quitterai Klaten le 28 [septembre]. Je reprends des forces chez Sagermans et mange comme un affamé.

Mardi, 27 septembre

Ce matin 200 Madurais ont encore pris la route de Djocja. Dans la matinée

* Payen has written «2.000 mille hommes», which is clearly a mistake.

j'ai fait un croquis de Klaten. Le changement de régime doit influencer sur moi. Je me trouve incommode depuis hier car ce n'est pas tout de manger. Je suis, suivant Des Barreaux ⁽²⁸³⁾, de ces fats qui s'amuse à vouloir digérer. Ce soir nous reçûmes une lettre de Monsieur le capitaine Kloesterhuis. Il nous apprend que ceux des régents de Djocja Karta qui commandent dans les provinces de l'est, vulgairement nommées Montjo Ngoro [mancanagara], ont embrassé le parti de Dipo Ngoro à l'exception cependant de deux chefs régents [Bupati Wedana] qui sont restés seuls fidèles mais délaissés de leurs subordonnés ⁽²⁸⁴⁾. Cette nouvelle est très inquiétante. Malgré mon indisposition, elle va hâter mon départ pour Solo et Semarang.

Mercredi, 28 septembre

J'ai pris congé du cher péque de dame Catherine, de cette originale de Mechlin [?]. Je me suis rendu à cheval à Soura Karta. D'espace en espace, sur la route, gisaient les têtes ou les corps de quelques brigands et quelques pas plus loin d'un de ces cadavres [?], quelques habitants prenaient tranquillement leur repas. Je n'ai pas remarqué que les passants fissent la moindre attention à ces exemples. Déjà [?] à midi j'arrivai à Soura Karta où je me procurai les moyens de gagner Samarang. Le soir Monsieur [Cornets] de Groot ⁽²⁸⁵⁾ m'apprit que le Pangueran Sérang ⁽²⁸⁶⁾, le même que le général Van Geen a chassé de Demak, avait reparu dans ces environs [et] qu'il se proposait d'attaquer Ampel [Ampèl] où nous avons un poste. Des lettres sont aussi venues dans le même moment de Jocja. Monsieur MacGillavry se plaignait beaucoup du manque de vivres sans nous donner aucune nouvelle politique. Ce qui nous fit penser que le 27 [septembre], date de cette lettre, les opérations militaires n'étaient pas encore commencées.

Jeudi, 29 septembre

Assez inquiet sur mon passage à Ampel, j'ai quitté Soura Karta. J'ai consulté à Bayalali le lieutenant [Van der] Wees ⁽²⁸⁷⁾ qui y commande. Il nous dit que Panguerang Seran [Pangéran Sérang] et Mas Soukour [Sukur] ⁽²⁸⁸⁾ (fils de l'ancien régent de Samarang) s'étaient emparés de Gagatan ⁽²⁸⁹⁾ mais qu'il n'avait aucune nouvelle inquiétante sur Ampel. Je continuai ma route et trouvai tout tranquille et beaucoup de monde sur les passars [pasar] que l'on rencontre sur cette route, surtout à Ampel. Je continuai ma route. A Salatiga, on me dit que Monsieur l'assistant-résident de Reed van Oudhoorn [P.H. van Reede van Oudtshoorn] en était parti le matin avec deux petites pièces d'artillerie pour aller renforcer les troupes qui sont aux environs d'Ampel ⁽²⁹⁰⁾.

Je suis arrivé à Samarang où j'ai trouvé beaucoup de barricades et de postes avancés et la garde urbaine ⁽²⁹¹⁾, bien habillée, faisant le service intérieur. J'ai encore appris des nouvelles inquiétantes: les troupes du Kadoe aux ordres du lieutenant-colonel Cleerens et major De Bast ont marché par Menoreg sur Brenkelan [Brèngkèlan]. En leur absence une colonne ennemie a pénétré dans le

*Kadoe, repoussé nos postes, pris une pièce de canon et menacerait Magellan.
Tout ceci devient d'une complication bien alarmante* ⁽²⁹²⁾.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

1. This was Johan, Arnoud, Renald Caspersz (died Surakarta, 26 Oct. 1849), who served as Assistant-Resident of Semarang from 1819 to 1827. He went on to become Assistant-Resident of Rajegwesi (Jipang) (1828) and Anyer (West Java) (1829-32), ending his career in Batavia, first as a member of the Orphans' Court (*Weeskamer*) (1832-34) and then as an Assistant Examiner (*Assessor*) of the *Landraad* (Municipal Court) (1832-39), see MvK 3091, 'Stamboek van Oost-Indisch Ambtenaren(1814-49)', f.416.
2. Hendrik, Jacob Domis (born Alkmaar, 10 July 1782 - died Brummen, 7 May 1842) served as Temporary Resident of Semarang from 1820 to 1822, and was then officially confirmed in the post on 9 July 1822. He remained in Semarang until 1827 and was very active in the defense of Dutch interests on the north coast during the opening stages of the Java War (1825-30). At his own request, he obtained a transfer to the Residency of Pasuruan in 1827 and was later appointed as Resident of Surabaya (1831-34). In 1834, he returned to the Netherlands on leave and was subsequently permitted to retire from Dutch Government service, ending his days at Brummen in eastern Holland. An intelligent and perceptive man, he wrote two published reports on Java ('Reis over het Eiland Java' and 'De Residentie Pasoeroean') both of which appeared in 1829. He also set up in type a Dutch-Javanese dictionary on his own printing press. His report on the Residency of Pasuruan was deemed so important that it was republished in the Hague in 1836, see *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol I ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff and Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1917), p. 634. During Payen's visit to Semarang in early July, Domis was away inspecting the Government coffee and opium estates around Salatiga and Kopèng, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 294 n.245.
3. In the original Payen has written '*kurra*', presumably this refers to the term used by the Alforese from the island of Haruku (Uliasser) in the Moluccas to refer to the common banana tree (Jav. *wit pisang*) of which there are many sorts, see F.S.A. de Clercq, *Nieuw Plantkundig Woordenboek voor Nederlandsch Indië* (Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, 1909), p. 285 n° 2361. Payen probably used the Alforese word because he had recently

returned from a visit to the Moluccas with Governor-General G.A.G. Ph. van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) in 1824, see above the Introduction, p.1.

4. Bedoyo (Bedhaya) was the country retreat of the Residents of Yogyakarta high on the southerly slopes of Mt. Merapi, see Plate n° 4, and Map A. It had apparently been built for Huibert Gerard Nahuys van Burgst (in office as Resident of Yogyakarta, 1816-22), by his business partner, R.C.N. d'Abo, see below n. 12. The Resident of Yogyakarta at this time was A.H. Smissaert, see below n.9.
5. Pierre, Frederik, Henri Chevallier (born Harderwijk, 16 April 1795 - died Yogyakarta, 11 Nov. 1825) was serving at this time as Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta (in office, 1 Nov. 1823 - 11 Nov. 1825). For further details on his career, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I. p. 256 n. 3; Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 241 n. 31; and below n.45.
6. Lieutenant (post-18 July 1825, Captain) Henri, Gabriel, Joseph Sagermans (born Brussels, 14 Jan. 1776 - died 's-Hertogenbosch [Bois-le-Duc], 6 Aug. 1861) had been in French service as a *garde d'honneur* of Napoleon from June 1813 and had fought under the French colours in Holland and Brabant (1813-14). Appointed an honorary Second Lieutenant in 1814, he went over to Dutch service and came to Indonesia as a supply officer in December 1817. At the time of the outbreak of the Java War, he was serving as commandant of the fort at Klathèn, and was later (1826) presented with a *sabre d'honneur* by the Sultan of Sumenep, presumably for services rendered to the Sumenep auxiliary troops serving in Java. Decorated as a Chevalier (*Ridder*) of the MWO (4th class) on 22 Nov. 1828 and later as a Chevalier of the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Nederlands Leeuw*), he took his pension in December 1830, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 397 n. 1; and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p. 398. As a fellow Bruxellois, Payen obviously felt particularly close to him.

On Cavalry Captain (*Ritmeester*) (later Cavalry Major) Josua Verboon (born Schiedam, 22 Aug. 1783 - died Yogyakarta, 10 Oct. 1826), see below n.120.

Jonkheer P.M.M. Bouwens van der Boijen was an Amsterdam-born landowner who rented land for coffee estates from the Surakarta court at Babadan and Kembang Arum some fifteen miles to the north-west of Yogyakarta on the slopes of Mt. Merapi. He was particularly hated by the local Javanese inhabitants because of his harsh management methods and his lands were frequently attacked, see Dj. Br. 52, Smissaert to Algemeen Secretaris (J.C. Baud), 5 Sept. 1823 (reporting an attack on the estate house at Babadan where a European officer of the Yogyakarta garrison, Lt. Pieters, was killed); and Payen's diary entries for 7 August and 6 September 1825 below. See also Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. II, p. 269 ff. Early in 1825, he appears to have married one of Smissaert's daughters by the latter's union with Clara Elizabeth Baroness von Liebeherr, a daughter of the senior East India Company (later Government) official, Bogislaus Frederik von Liebeherr (died 1821), see F. de Haan, 'Personalie van het Engelsch Bestuur over Java 1811-1816',

BKI, vol 92. (1935), p. 648; D.M. Campbell, *Java: Past and Present. A Description of the Most Beautiful Country in the World, Its Ancient History, People, Antiquities and Products* (London: William Heinemann, 1915), vol. I, pp. 433-36; and below Payen's entry for 2 July 1825.

7. *Balé Kambang* (lit.: 'floating pavilion') in Modern Javanese refers to a round artificial island with a pavilion (reached by a bridge or walkway) in the centre of a round pool surrounded by gardens, see Elinor Clark Horne, *Javanese-English Dictionary* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 52 sub: 'Balé'. It is unclear exactly where this place was situated, but it was probably in the grounds of the Yogyakarta Residency House, see the last sentence of Payen's entry for 20 July 1825.
8. See below n.139.
9. Jonkheer Anthonië, Hendrik Smislaert (born Batavia, 8 March 1777 - died the Hague, 25 Oct. 1832) served as Resident of Yogyakarta from 11 February 1823 until 26 September 1825. He was subsequently suspended from Government service for incompetence and died a broken man in the Hague in 1832. For an account of his career in Indonesia, which was powerfully assisted by his marriage in 1800 to the daughter of the senior Company official, Bogislaus Frederik von Liebeherr (died 1821), see Campbell, *Java: Past and Present*, vol. I, p. 433-36; De Haan, 'Personalia', p. 648-49; Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, index sub: 'Smislaert'; and above n.6. There are many original documents relating to the end of his career in vAE n° 28 (*aanwinsten* 1941), 'Stukken betreffende de ontslag van A.H. Smislaert als Resident te Djokjokarta (1828-29) met retroacta'. Payen's bitingly ironic references throughout his 1825 diary to Smislaert's ineptitude and stupidity show that he had a good insight into the latter's character. See further below n. 249 and above Plate n° 12.
10. Second (post-18 July 1825, First) Lieutenant (later *Ritmeester*) François Delattre (known to his friends by the nickname of 'Sisque' or 'Suske' Delattre) (born Gent, 11 Feb. 1785 - died Weltevreden, 12 March 1833) had previously been in French service as a hussar officer (from 6 Jan. 1801) seeing action in Germany, Austria, Prussia and Spain. On 21 June 1814, he had been chosen by Napoleon as a Second Lieutenant in his elite regiment of Imperial Hussars. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, he joined the Dutch army (October 1817) and came to Indonesia in August of the following year. On active duties throughout the first four years (1825 - 29) of the Java War, he was appointed Cavalry Captain (*Ritmeester*) in 1829, but appears to have retired from front line service soon afterwards. He died four years later in the military hospital at Weltevreden, his body weakened by wounds he had earlier received at the battles of Austerlitz (2 Dec. 1805) and Jena (14 Oct. 1806), see Louw *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 258 n.1. Like Sagermans (above n. 6), Delattre was a fellow countryman of Payen and was renowned for his peerless bravery, see below n.76; and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p. 171 n., who referred to him as '*le plus redoutable et le plus brave cavalier Belge aux Indes orientales*'.

11. For a sketch of the country house at Bedhaya on the slopes of Mt. Merapi, which commanded a magnificent view over the Mataram (Yogyakarta) plain as far as the Indian Ocean and the limestone hills of Gunung Kidul, see Plate n° 4.
12. Robbert, Christiaan, Nicolaas d'Abo, a Batavia-born Eurasian, had served in Central Java in various semi-official capacities since 1803. Described by one Dutch Resident as a person of 'quick and ready intelligence' (Dj. Br. 48, J.G. van den Berg [Resident of Surakarta] to Nicolaus Engelhard [Governor of Java's N.E. Coast], 6 Sept. 1803), he apparently spoke fluent Javanese and later became a business partner of H.G. Nahuys van Burgst (1782-1858) (in office as Resident of Yogyakarta, 1816-22), who had an affair with his wife, a sister of a Dutch official in Padang, from whom d'Abo was subsequently divorced, see KB, A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. private papers (old inv. n° IXe), A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (Yogyakarta) to A.D. Cornets de Groot Sr. (Gresik), 26 Nov. 1822, p. 39; and Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 7. D'Abo served as Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta from 14 February 1817 to 28 August 1823, and then stayed on to supervise the coffee plantations leased from the Sultanate at Bedhaya and Melathèn (rented by d'Abo's wife) during the period after their repurchase by the Yogyakarta court, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I. pp. 602-03; and J.F. Walraven van Nes, 'Verhandeling over de Waarschijnlijke Oorzaken die Aanleiding tot de Onlusten van 1825 en de Volgende jaren in de Vorstenlanden Gegeven Hebben', *TNI*, vol. 6 (1844), pp. 148-51 (on the very disadvantageous terms under which the Yogyakarta court had to repurchase the Bedhaya estate in July-August 1823, and the impact of the negotiations on Dipanagara, at that time one of the guardians of the infant Sultan Hamengkubuwana V [r. 1822-26 / 1828-55]). D'Abo appears to have been a brother of the *Élève in de Javaansche Taal* (Student in the Javanese Language) in Yogyakarta, C.L. van den Berg, see A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (Yogyakarta) to A.D. Cornets de Groot Sr. (Gresik), Sept. 1821, p. 51, *loc. cit.*; and below n. 99.
13. Johannes, Godlieb Dietrée (born Ungaran, 1782 - died Yogyakarta, June 1826) was a Eurasian Muslim who served as Official Javanese Interpreter of the Yogyakarta Residency from 1796 to January 1825. He also rented small estates in the Mataram area from members of the Yogya court (the largest of which, Pogung, had eight *jungs* of land), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 22, n. 31; Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 606-76; and below n.238.
14. See above n.6.
15. Hubert Eduard Martini (born Luik [Liège], 3 July 1788 - died ?) had come out to Indonesia in 1818 as a First Lieutenant (post-1819, Captain [*Ritmeester*]) of the 7th Hussar Regiment, but was sentenced by a court-martial in Semarang on 16 March 1822 to demotion on account of 'extortion and abuse of power and trust', see MvK, 2776, *BGG ir*, 28 May 1822 n° 19. Cashiered from the army, apparently at his own request, on 23 July 1822, Martini applied successfully to be allowed to stay in Yogyakarta (MvK, 2475, *BGG br*, 31 March 1824 n° 13; MvK,

- 2476, *BGG br*, 24 May 1824 n° 5; and MvK, 2483, *BGG br*, 11 May 1825 n° 4), and was subsequently reappointed as a Lieutenant in the army due to his brave conduct during the first months of the Java War (1825-30), see MvK, 2489, *BGG br*, 8 Dec. 1825 n° 4. His request to be honourably retired from the army after the war was refused, but he was eventually allowed to return to Europe (with his son) in 1832. For details of his career, see MvK, 4062, 'Contrôleboek van de Officieren van het Oost-Indische Leger (1815-24)', f. 306. Martini, who was four years Payen's senior, appears to have been a school contemporary of the artist.
16. Rajawinangun was an estate belonging to the Yogya court which had originally been laid out as a pavilion and country retreat (*kalangenan-Dalem*) by Sultan Hamengkubuwana II (reigned, 1792-1810 / 1811-12 / 1826-28) when he was still Crown Prince (i.e. pre-1792). It was situated about two kilometres due east of Yogya on the left bank of the Gajah-wong river close to the road which led from the Pakualaman to the main Yogya-Sala highway at Nyamplung (below n. 265). The Anglo-Portuguese traveller, W.B. d'Almeida, who visited the site in the early 1860's, referred to its 'water palace'-style architecture laid out in the form of terraces with ornamental tanks, fountains, artificial streams, flights of steps and pillars. The main group of buildings were approached across two large courtyards, one with a spring (*umbul*) bubbling in the centre of a pond and a *kala*-headed gateway. The interior of the main building had two large rooms on the ground floor (which reminded d'Almeida of a monastery) and many small apartments leading off them, together with two wings or towers covered with creepers, see William Barrington d'Almeida, *Life in Java: With Sketches of the Javanese*, vol. II (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1864), p. 123; and P.J. Veth, *Java, Geographisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch*, vol. III (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1882), p. 635. The surrounding estate, which comprised about 50 *jung* of well-irrigated *sawah*, had been rented to the Aberdeen-born Dr. Harvey Thomson (1791-?) who had used it for the plantation of indigo. But, under the conditions of Governor-General Van der Capellen's May 1823 decrees (which instructed that all lands leased by Europeans and Chinese in the princely territories should be returned to their previous owners), it had been given back to the Sultan (HB V). Chevallier apparently still had the use of the main pavilion as a country retreat.
 17. On Smissaert's extreme rapaciousness in money matters and his charges to the Government for building wood, which he claimed to have bought for the repair of the Residency House, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.277 n.1; and below ns.210 and 237.
 18. These refer to Chevallier's inspection journeys in the eastern and western outlying provinces (*mancanagara*) of the Central Javanese courts in May-June and September-October 1824 as part of a Commission set up to investigate the working of the tollgates in the princely states, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, pp. 16-20; and P.H. van der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken van den Java-Oorlog van 1825-30', *BKI*, 6 jrg. vol.3 (1897), p. 42 ff (esp. p.46). Chevallier's journey to the eastern outlying

provinces of Madiun and Kedhiri had revealed especially damaging evidence of the impact of the Chinese-run tollgates on local commerce and society in those regions, see KITLV H 395, 'Rapport van den Assistent-Resident (P.F.H.) Chevallier over de Werking der Tolpoorten', 13 June, 1824. Information on Chevallier's findings in the western outlying provinces of Bagelèn and Banyumas can be found in S.Br. 122, 'Aanteekeningen van het Verhandeling door de Commissie belast met het Onderzoek in de Regering der Tolpoorten &c.', Oct. 1824.

19. For a short biographical sketch of Radèn Tumenggung Major Wiranagara, who had served as the commander of the Sultan's bodyguard (*Wedana Gedhé prajurit*) since c. 1818, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.245, n.41.
20. This gives an interesting insight into the extent of organised violence in the Javanese countryside on the eve of the Java War when many Chinese tollgate keepers (*bandar*) maintained their own private 'armies' of bodyguards and thugs (usually recruited from local Javanese), see further Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.XLIII; and (on the Chinese communities in Yogyakarta at this time), see below ns.127 and 141.
21. On Radèn Adipati Danureja IV (c. 1780-c. 1849), erstwhile Yogya *Bupati* of Japan (Majakerta) in East Java, who served as *Patih* (prime minister) of Yogyakarta from 2 December 1813 - 13 February 1847, see Peter Carey (ed.), *The British in Java, 1811-16: A Javanese Account* (Oxford : Oxford U.P. for the British Academy, 1988), n.486 of the babad. He was later described by General H.M. de Kock as 'a fine Javanese who dresses well, rides magnificent horses (and) has beautiful women', see dK 111, 'Over het Karakter van den Soesoehoenan, den Sultan van Djokjokarta en de Prinsen en Rjksgrooten', Magelang, 10 Dec. 1829. Throughout his career as *Patih* he was an unwavering supporter of the Dutch Government and enriched himself greatly thereby. The bridge near Klathèn mentioned here is that over the Kali Gondhang at the village of the same name, see below n.156.
22. This was K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagara II (pre-30 Oct. 1821, K.G.P.A.A. Prabu Prangwedana) who was head of the Mangkunagaran royal house from 25 January 1796 to 26 January 1835, see A.K. Pringgodigdo, *Geschiedenis der Ondernemingen van het Mangkoenagorische Rijk* ('s-Gravenhage : Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), pp. 25-26; and P.B.R. Carey (ed.), *The Archive of Yogyakarta*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1980), p. 188. His teak forests at Karangpandhan on the slopes of Mt. Lawu were amongst the best maintained in Java, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 285 n.207.
23. The tollgates on the Javanese roads were divided into three main sorts at this time: *bandar*, major tollgates on the main roads; *rangkah*, subordinate tollgates which were usually situated on side roads or at the entrance to markets; and *salaran*, observation posts sited on the borders of districts controlled by the separate *bandar* and *rangkah*. Their main purpose was to check to see that travellers passing through them had paid the requisite tolls. Full dues were levied on certain stipulated products at the *bandar*, which would then be exempt from all but a token

payment (*wang peniti*; lit.: 'pin money') at the adjacent *rangkah*. The receipts for these toll payments were stamped on the hands of Javanese merchants in slow-fading indigo dye and these were inspected at the *salaran* before they were allowed to pass into another customs area, see S. Br. 170, Report of H.G. Nahuys van Burgst (Resident of Surakarta) on the Tollgates, 29 May 1830. This, at least, is how the Javanese toll-gate system was supposed to work, but numerous illegal extortions were practised as this description by Payen of the *salaran* just outside Klatèn makes clear. For further details on the functioning of the tollgates in Central Java at this time, see Van der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken', pp. 42-48. The *sucre d'arèn* (Jav. 'gula arèn') mentioned in this passage is locally-made Javanese sugar distilled from areca palm sap.

24. Hendrik, Mauritz MacGillavry was Acting Resident of Surakarta (15 July 1823 - Jan. 1824; and 7 Jan. 1825 - August 1825) during the absence of the (First) Resident, Jan, Izaäk van Sevenhoven, in Palembang. MacGillavry was confirmed as First Resident in August 1825, but was dismissed exactly two years later (August 1827), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol. III (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij and 's-Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1904), pp. 245-47; and Plate n° 5. The terms 'First Resident' and 'Second Resident' date back to the period from 1755 to 1811 at the Central Javanese courts, when the latter's functions had been largely ceremonial, see M.C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 365-70. After 1811, the usual official nomenclature for the two senior representatives of the European Government at the Residency level were 'Resident' and 'Assistant-Resident' or 'Secretary'. For a reference to Payen's visit to MacGillavry in Surakarta, see A.P. Büchler, 'Soerakarta vóór 63 Jaren', *TNI*, 17 jaargang, vol. II (1888), p.18. Interestingly, this account mentions that Payen was accompanied on his visit by Chevallier and the Commander of the Sultan's bodyguard, Second Lieutenant Pieter Wieseman (see below n. 30), and not by the Yogya Interpreter, J.G. Dietrée (see above n. 13). The party spent the evening with MacGillavry and returned to Yogyakarta the next day.
25. This probably refers to Mr. Christiaan de Haan, who had served as a member of the High Court (*Raad van Justitie*) in Semarang since 1823. Information courtesy of Mej. drs. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief.
26. This was Sultan Hamengkubuwana V (1822-26/1828-55), who was born 25 January 1820 and was installed as Sultan on 19 December 1822 when he was not quite three years old. The guardians appointed for him by the then Acting Resident of Yogyakarta, A.M.Th. de Salis (in office, 1 Nov. 1822 - 11 Feb. 1823), were his great-uncle Pangéran Mangkubumi; his uncle, Pangéran Dipanagara; his grandmother, Ratu Agung (consort of HB III; reigned, 1812-14); and his mother, Ratu Kencana (consort of HB IV, reigned, 1814-22), see further Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 234, n.3; and p. 235, n.10. On Resident MacGillavry's warnings to Chevallier on 16 July and 19 July 1825 about Dipanagara's warlike intentions and the reasons why news of these preparations reached Surakarta first, see Carey, *op.cit.*, p. XVIII, p. LV n. 34, p. 283

- n. 201. The full text of MacGillavry's letter of 19 July 1825 is printed in Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.252; and see also below n.38.
27. This was Mas Ngabèhi Wiraprana, personal assistant to the Yogya *Patih*, Radèn Adipati Danureja IV, who gave the news to the Dutch authorities of developments at Tegalreja while Danureja was away supervizing the construction of the road between Yogyakarta and Klathèn, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 256 n.90.
 28. Kyai Ngabèhi Prawiradimeja was an official of the Yogya *Patih*'s establishment (*Kepatihan*) with rank of *Mantri Anom*. He was sent to keep further watch on Dipanagara's movements at Tegalreja on 16 July 1825, see SB 136 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol. II), XLVII. 14-17, p. 196.
 29. The Dutch term for the position of *Patih* or 'prime minister' at the Central Javanese courts.
 30. Second (post-11 Oct. 1825, First) Lieutenant Pieter Wieseman (born Utrecht, 22 Sept. 1791 - died Yogyakarta, 3 June 1832) was at this time commander of Sultan of Yogyakarta's mounted 'European' bodyguard. This was a force of about 25 local Dutch and German residents of Yogyakarta who had Indonesian mothers (and therefore could speak some Malay and Javanese). A few Ambonese soldiers were usually seconded to it and the formation was always commanded by a serving European officer from the Yogyakarta garrison, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 403, n. 2; and P.B.R. Carey, 'The Sepoy Conspiracy of 1815 in Java', *BKI*, vol. 133 (1977), pp. 309-10.
 31. This refers to the cave of Secang (Guwa Secang) at Dipanagara's retreat at Selarong in the limestone hills immediately to the west of Bantul. The prince always went there during the fasting month (*Puwasa*; *Ramelan*) which, in 1825, fell during the period 20 April to 19 May. Dipanagara's absence from Yogya during that time was noted in contemporary Dutch reports and he only returned to the Sultan's capital to take part in the *Garebeg Puwasa* celebrations which occurred on 21 May 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 246 n.43; and below n.33.
 32. '*tapa*' usually has the sense of carrying out religious austerity, bodily mortification, penance or asceticism. It is often used in combination with the term '*brata*' (i.e. '*tapa-brata*') meaning either 'the observance of asceticism penance' or 'penance and other religious observance', see P.J. Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*, part II ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), p.1945 sub: '*tapa*'. In Modern Javanese parlance the word is usually associated with the practice of withdrawal to a secluded place to live in solitude for a while for the purification of body and mind and the concentration of the will towards a particular goal, see Horne, *Javanese-English Dictionary*, p. 593 sub: '*tapa*'.
 33. This refers to the *Garebeg Puwasa* (Javanese-Islamic religious feast held at the Central Javanese courts to celebrate the end of the fasting month) which fell on 21 May 1825. Apparently Dipanagara had addressed senior Dutch officials present on that occasion in *ngoko* (Low Javanese) and had called Smissaert 'the bald-headed one' (*si buthak-ngelathak*), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 273 n.152; and Louw, *Java Oorlog*, vol. I,

p. 47 n.1.

34. On the various messengers sent out to Tegalreja from Yogya to summon Dipanagara to the Residency between 18-20 July 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 271 n.145.
35. On Smissaert's harsh and tactless treatment of the Sultan (HB V's) guardian and great-uncle, Pangéran Mangkubumi, which ultimately drove him to make common cause with Dipanagara, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp. 68-69, p.269 n.134, p.270 n.141, p.271 n.145, p. 272 n.146. Mangkubumi had made his first visit to Tegalreja on Thursday, 14 July 1825. This appears to have been followed by two further visits on the morning of Tuesday, 19 July and on Wednesday, 20 July, when he eventually defected to the prince, see Carey (ed.), *loc. cit.*
36. There is some doubt about exactly when Dipanagara sent his wives and children away from Tegalreja to his retreat at Selarong with money and valuables to pay for his troops: some accounts agree with Payen that this took place on 19 July, others (including Dipanagara's own autobiographical *babad*) state that this occurred only shortly before the Dutch attack on Tegalreja on 20 July, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 277 n. 170.
37. Dipanagara felt particularly bitter toward the Yogya *Patih*, Danureja IV (see above n. 21), whom he blamed for many of the troubles which beset the Yogya *kraton* on the eve of the Java War. In particular, he held him responsible for encouraging (for his own financial advantage) the fatal policy of estate leases to Europeans and Chinese which had impoverished so many princes and apanage holders of Yogya court, especially after the leases had been cancelled by Governor-General Van der Capellen's decision of 6 May 1823 (see Van der Kemp, 'Economische Oorzaken', p. 26 ff). The *Patih*'s dismissal was, therefore, one of the major points Dipanagara had held out for as a condition for his opening negotiations with the Dutch authorities in Yogya in July 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 271 n. 145, and (on DN's particular hatred of Danureja IV), see *Ibid*, pp.10-13, p.242 n.32.
38. The news that the common people (*wong cilik*) in Yogya had hidden all their goods and valuables in expectation of the outbreak of armed conflict between Dipanagara and Dutch, had already been related to Chevallier by MacGillavry in his letter of 19 July 1825 (see above n. 26), the end of which reads as follows: '... in the *pasar* [markets] here [in Surakarta] the news is circulating that it will come to *prang* [war] in Yogya, that the common people [*wong cilik*] have hidden all their goods [and] that the prime minister [*Patih*] of Yogya has climbed [Mt.] Merapi to make a pledge for this *prang* [war] etc. These *merae nugae* [idle gossip] are for your information only. Farewell, M. MacGillavry', see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 252. It is possible that Payen based his information directly on MacGillavry's letter.
39. On Wiranagara's request to Chevallier on the morning of Wednesday, 20 July 1825, for some ball cartridges (*scherpen patronen*) for the Sultan's troops, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.274 n.156.

40. According to Chevallier, the Sultan (HB V's) grandmother, Ratu Agung, together with Danureja first suggested that Dipanagara should be taken prisoner on 19 July 1825 in order to nip his impending rebellion in the bud. The whole of the night of 19/20 July was taken up with preparations to this end without anything positive being achieved, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.256 n.92.
41. This statement runs directly counter to what Dipanagara himself later said about his financial responsibility as a guardian of the Sultan, see E.S. de Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol. V (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij and 's-Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1908), p.743 quoting a conversation of Dipanagara with his Dutch military escorts, Major F.V.H.A. de Stuers and Capt. J.J. Roeps in early April 1830:

'As a guardian I always had nothing to do: we [i.e. Dipanagara and Mangkubumi] were usually informed about the money paid into the Sultan's treasury because I had to give my seal for that, but we never had any knowledge of the money paid out of the treasury. Only that which was destined for payments within the *kraton* was given to Wiranagara.

When I was outside [i.e. at Tegalreja] I heard that there was no longer any money in the treasury, although everyone knew that there must still be much left. [But] the *Patih* [Danureja IV] ... needed money, first with this, then with that excuse [and] things were always being built. That Dietrée ... was always busy with the Secretary [Chevallier] and the *Patih* [Danureja IV] [and] anything of importance was dealt with without us'.

On Dipanagara's total withdrawal from financial responsibility for *kraton* finances because of his disgust at the huge indemnities being demanded by the European planters forced by the May 1823 decrees to relinquish their rented lands in the princely states, see J.F. Walraven van Nes, 'Verhandeling over de Waarschijnlike Oorzaken die Aanleiding tot de Onlusten van 1825 en de Volgende Jaren in de Vorstenlanden Gegeven Hebben', *TNI*, vol. 6 (1844), p. 153; and P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanagara, Eene Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', *BKI*, vol. 46 (1896), pp. 313-14.
42. First Lieutenant Jean, Nicolas de Thierry (born Grevenmacher [Luxemburg], 15 Aug. 1783 - died, Yogyakarta, 27 July 1825) had seen extensive service in a French dragoon regiment during the Napoleonic Wars. After joining up as a trooper in 1805, he had reached the rank of Lieutenant in 1813 and had been appointed as a knight-commander (*chevalier*) of the Legion of Honour in December of the same year. After going over to Dutch service, he arrived in Indonesia in 1818 and served with the elite 7th Hussar Regiment from 1819. At the time of the outbreak of the Java War, he was Second-in-Command of the Yogyakarta garrison, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 255 n.3; and MvK 4062, 'Contrôleboek van de Officiëren van het Oost-Indische Leger (1815-24)', f. 306.
43. Second Lieutenant Buijzerd van der Plas (born Katwijk-aan-Zee, 19 Sept. 1793 - died Padang, 17 Nov. 1833) was serving at this time in

- the Yogyakarta garrison and saw service in Central Java throughout the Java War (1825-30). He was later killed fighting the *Padris* in West Sumatra, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p. 256 n.1.
44. Second Lieutenant Jan, Willem, Jacob Mossel (born Breda, 1 April 1803 - died Java, 8 Dec. 1827), an officer in the 5th Artillery Battalion of the Dutch army in Indonesia, was serving at this time in the Yogyakarta garrison, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 256 n.2.
 45. For a full description of the composition of this column commanded by ex-First Lieutenant Chevallier and First Lieutenant Thierry, and an account of the events surrounding the attack on Dipanagara's *dalem* at Tegalreja on the afternoon of 20 July 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp. 80-113, pp. 274-80 ns.156-188; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 256-57. Chevallier (see above n.5) had reached the rank of First Lieutenant in a Dutch East Indies cavalry regiment before transferring to a career in the Dutch colonial administration in June 1822, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, p. 256 n.3.
 46. On the background to the problem of improving the local road which passed through the adjacent village of Tompéyan and skirted the eastern fence of Dipanagara's *dalem* at Tegalreja, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 245 n. 42. The tactless way this road improvement work had been carried out by Patih Danureja IV, acting on behalf of the Dutch authorities, in June-July 1825, had been one of the immediate reasons for Dipanagara's rebellion. It is not strictly true to say, however, as Payen does here, that Dipanagara had intentionally allowed this road to fall into a state of disrepair.
 47. This was the village (*désa*) of Tompéyan which was situated just to the east of Dipanagara's estate at Tegalreja, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, Plaat III, 'Platte Grond van de Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta omstreeks 1830'. Men from this village, who worked on the lands belonging to the Tegalreja estate as *magersari* (resident estate workers), afforded Dipanagara much active support during his confrontation with Danureja's agents working on the improvement to the local road (see above n. 46) and against the Dutch-led expedition on 20 July 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.247 n.47.
 48. On the flowing, white *jubah* (long Arabic tabard with wide sleeves) and turban worn by Dipanagara at the time of his flight from Tegalreja, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.276 n.169. The Dutch Resident of Yogya, A.H. Smitsaert, referred to this in one of his reports to the Governor-General as 'an Arabian and very distinguished «priestly» garment' (*een Arabisch en zeer gedistingueerd priester gewaad*), see P.B.R. Carey, 'The Cultural Ecology of Early Nineteenth Century Java: Pangeran Dipanagara, a Case Study', *Occasional Paper* n° 24 (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1974), p. 35 n.116. This distinctive style of dress was, of course, important for it emphasised the marked Islamic religious character of Dipanagara's rebellion which had as one of its principal objects 'the raising up of the high state of the Islamic religion in Java' (*mangun luhuripun Agami Islam wonten ing Tanah Jawa sadaya*) and the purification of Muslim law from the innovations made both by the

- Javanese and the Europeans, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. XLVI; and P.J.F. Louw, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol. II (Batavia : Landsdrukkerij and 's-Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1897), p.431.
49. 'tandhak' has the general meaning in both Old and Modern Javanese of 'to dance with song', see Zoetmulder, *Dictionary*, part II, p.1929 sub: 'tandak'. Presumably, it seemed to the Dutch observers that Dipanagara was making his horse prance and dart as though following the musical rhythm of the Javanese *gamelan* orchestra which played to the princely cavaliers of the courts at the Monday and Saturday jousting tournaments (*Senenan* and *Setonan*) on the northern *alun-alun* of the *kraton*. It is interesting to note that much the same imagery is used in connection with this incident in the Javanese chronicles (*babad*), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 280 n.187. Payen's description is, however, particularly evocative.
 50. On Dipanagara's escape from Tegalreja through a small gateway in the western wall of his estate and a narrow pathway across the adjacent *sawah* (wet ricefields), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 280 n.187.
 51. Pangéran Adinagara (born c.1786) and Pangéran Suryadipura (born c.1802) were both sons of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III (reigned, 1812-14) by unofficial wives, see R.W. Dwidjosoegondo and R.W. Adisoetrisno, *Serat Dharah inggih 'Seseboetan Radèn' mawi ngewrat Sujarahipun para Nata Jawi sawatawis sarta para Wali* (Kediri: Tan Koen Swie (?), 1941), p.102 n° 2, p.104 n° 26. As younger brothers of Dipanagara they were amongst the first of the Yogya princes to rally to him at Selarong. Indeed, according to one source, Adinagara had already been in close contact with Dipanagara ever since the question of the improvements to the road to Tegalreja (see above n. 46) had come up in June 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.240 n.28, p.263 n.113, p.268 n.129, p.272 n.146, and p.283 n.200.
 52. For a Javanese account of this ill-timed drinking session called by the Yogya Resident, Smissaert, during which the health of the young Sultan (Hamengkubuwana V) was repeatedly drunk, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.65, p.269 n.137.
 53. It was usual practice for senior Dutch officials at the courts to take up temporary residence in the *kraton* at times of political uncertainty (e.g. after the death of a reigning sovereign). But, in the case of Chevallier, there were strong rumours at the time that he was conducting illicit affairs with some of the young princesses (*Radèn Ayu*) of the Yogya *kraton*, and such a step may have helped to confirm these suspicions in the minds of Javanese contemporaries, see vAE 28, Smissaert to King William I, n.d. (? Sept. 1828); E.B. Kielstra, 'Een en Ander omtrent Dipo Negoro', *De Gids*, 7 jrg pt.2 (1885), p.410; H. Graaf van Hogendorp (ed.), *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913), p.143; and Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', pp.313-14. The Translator, J.G. Dietrée, was also implicated in these rumours, see Van Nes, 'Verhandeling over de Waarschijnlijke Oorzaken', p.154 n.1; and there were even reports that Chevallier had lived openly with one of Dipanagara's ex-*selir* (unofficial wives) and had mistreated one

- of his sisters, see MvK 4204, Pangéran Aria Blitar to Sultan Hamengkubuwana II, 10 Oct. 1826, La C n° 3.
54. On this, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.297 n. 257. The occasion of Smissaert's singularly inappropriate speech was an oath-taking ceremony in the Yogya Residency at which Yogya *Bupati* and other officials came before Smissaert and Pakualam I, see Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', p.405. The 'oath of allegiance' taken on this occasion was a reiteration of the usual pledge of fidelity to the Dutch Government taken by all senior Javanese officials on their assumption of office. It did not prevent several more Yogya *Bupati* and princes from going over to Dipanagara at Selarong, see Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', p.405.
 55. On the taking of hostages by the Dutch, which included the custodial arrest of no less than seventeen of the remaining Yogya princes in the European fort, see Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', p.405 (quoting a report of Smissaert to Governor-General Van der Capellen). Pangéran Suryabrangta (born c. 1788) was a son of the third Sultan by an unofficial wife and was Dipanagara's younger brother, see Dwidjosoegondo and Adisoetrisno, *Serat Dharah*, p. 102 n° 3. (Radèn Tumenggung) Prawiradingrat was a younger brother of HB III's official consort, Ratu Agung (pre-July 1820, Ratu Ibu), see below n.108. They were both children of the Yogya *Bupati* of Jipang-Rajegwesi, Radèn Tumenggung Sasradiningrat I (deceased, 1807), see Carey (ed.), *The British in Java*, n.141 of the *babad*. The younger brother of the half-mad Ratu Kencana, official consort of HB IV (below n. 132), was Radèn Mas Tumenggung Yudanegara (later Bendara Pangéran Aria Colonel Yudanegara), see LOr 11.089 (I), 'Lelampahanipoen Kangdjeng Pangeran Arja Djoeroe saking R.M.P. Santadilaga, Lempoejangan (Djogjakarta)', n.d. (? 1927); and KITLV Or. 467 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol.III), index sub: 'Yudanegara, R.T.'
 56. Colonel Friederich von Jett (born Ludwigsburg, 16 Sept. 1777 - died ?) was a German professional soldier who had come out to Java in 1790 with the Württemberg regiment (mercenary troops employed by VOC) and had commanded the Second (Semarang) Military Division (*Groote Militaire Afdeeling*) of Java since 1816. His conduct in Yogyakarta at the time of the outbreak of the Java War left much to be desired (see below n. 67), and he was pensioned from active military service on 25 January 1827, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.257 n.2.
 57. Captain-Engineer Andries Keer (born Voorschot, 26 Sept. 1796 - died Magelang, 4 March 1826) was serving at this time as the senior resident engineer officer in the Second (Semarang) Military Division of Java, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.257 n.3; and below n.240.
 58. This refers to the Mangkunagaran 'Legion', a force which numbered some 800 men on the eve of the Java War. It was a mixed formation comprising infantry, riflemen (*jagers*), cavalry and mounted artillery, which had been in existence since the early 1790's and had been completely reorganised by Daendels (in office as Governor-General, 1808-11) in July 1808. Since that time it had been equipped and accoutred in the same fashion as the regular Dutch troops with dark blue jackets,

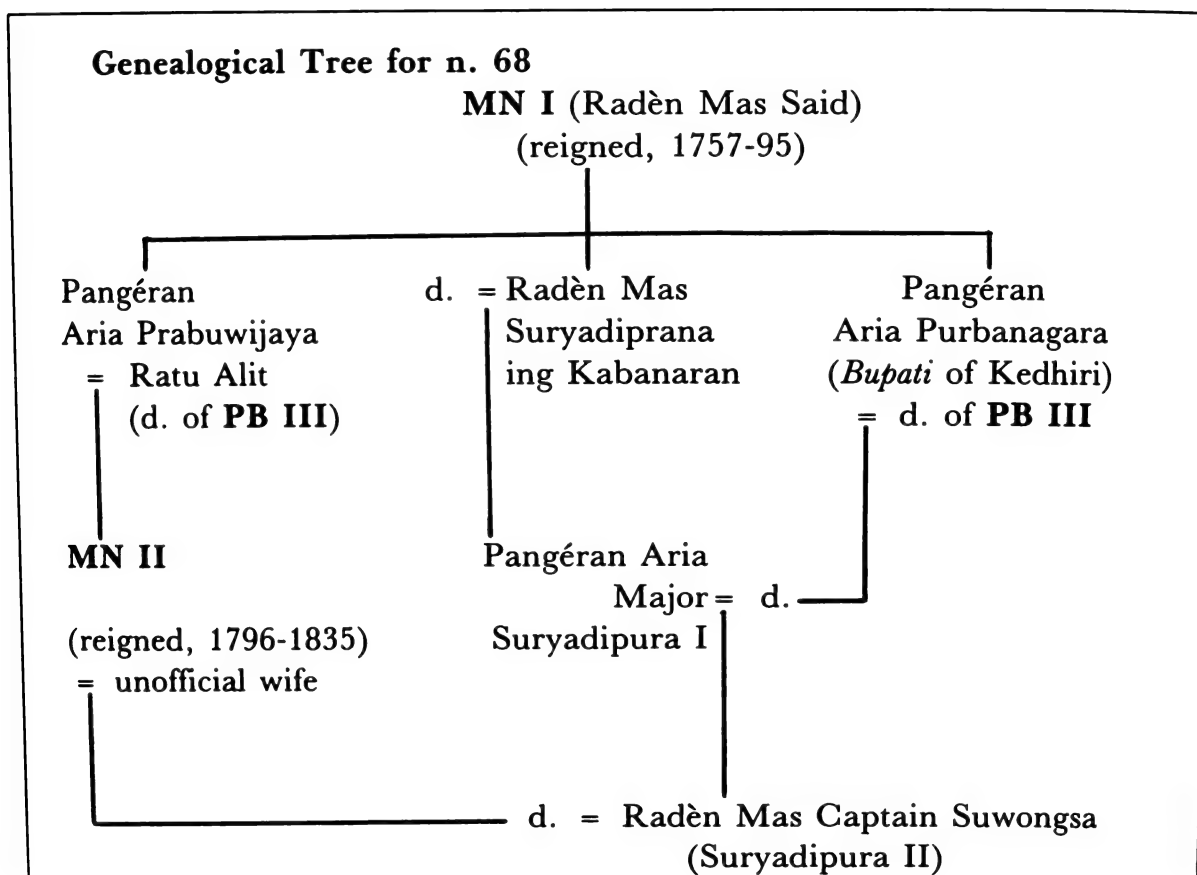
shakos and white trousers. A European officer had also been seconded to train the force which was led by K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagara II (see above n. 22) as colonel-commandant and officered by close members of his family (usually the sons, grandsons, nephews, sons-in-law and cousins of the incumbent head of the Mangkunagaran royal house). The Dutch Government paid for its upkeep and the the salary of its commander, a useful investment as far as they were concerned because the 'Legion' (the only effective European-trained Javanese force in the *kra-tons*) was used by them as a counterweight to political and military challenges from the other (semi-)independent Javanese rulers. It proved its worth by taking part in the British attack on Yogyakarta in June 1812 and by fighting alongside the Dutch during the Java War (1825-30). For these services Mangkunagara II was handsomely rewarded by the European authorities (*i.a.* with 1,000 *cacah* of Sala land in 1812 and 800 *cacah* of Yogya land in 1830). On the 'Legion' and its subsequent history during the nineteenth century, see H.F. Aukes, *Het Legioen van Mangkoe Nagoro* (Bandoeng: Nix & Co, 1935), *passim*. For a comparison with the far less glorious Pakualam 'Corps', see below n.116.

59. For an account of this ambush of Captain Kumsius's column at Pisan-gan in the Sléman district on the main road from Yogya to Magelang by Dipanagara's troops on the morning of 22 July 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.257-59.
60. Captain Reinier, Dirk Kumsius (born Rotterdam, 1 May 1783 - died ?) was an infantry officer serving at this time in the 2nd Battalion of the 19th Infantry Division (*Afdeling*). He was dismissed from Dutch military service for incompetence on 23 August 1826, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.257 n.4, and below ns.183, 240 and 241.
61. Second Lieutenant Jan Boogert (born Leiden, 3 June 1801 - killed Pisan-gan 22 July 1825) had served briefly in Europe during the last two years (1814-15) of the Napoleonic Wars and had then risen through the ranks to become an infantry officer in 1824. He had been in Dutch military service in Indonesia since January of that year, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.258 n.2.
62. For a detailed description of Dipanagara's retreat at Selarong in the hilly limestone area lying to the west and east of the Kali Bedhog about two kilometres west of Bantul, where he set up his first headquarters at the start of the Java War, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 238 n. 20; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, pp.435-37.
63. On the Mangkunagaran 'Legion', see above n. 58. For a brief description of this first abortive Dutch expedition against Selarong on 24 July 1825 led by the commandant of the Yogya garrison, Captain M.J. Bouwensch (below n. 129), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.259-60; and Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p. 279 n.179.
64. On these flags flown in the villages (*désa*) around Selarong supporting Dipanagara, see KITLV Or 13 (*Buku Kedhung Kebo*), XII. 4-5, pp. 124b - 125a (transliterated copy: KITLV Or 468). According to this Javanese source, the flags and banners in Selarong were of three sorts: *umbul-*

umbul (ten metre high narrow banners with pennants at the top usually planted in the fields during harvest time or for ceremonies, e.g. on the *alun-alun* of the *kraton*); *rontèk* (short pikes or cavalry lances with pennants at the top); and *dludag* (somewhat like the *umbul-umbul*, but without the pennant). The main colours were yellow, red and white, and from afar, according to the author of the *Buku*, the hill of Selarong (Dipanaganara's headquarters) looked like a 'mountain of flowers' (*lir péndah ardi kusuma*). See also Muhammad Yamin, *6000 Tahun Sang Mérah-Putih* (Jakarta: Penerbit Siguntang, 1954), pp.157-58, who drew attention to the prevalent use of the Indonesian national colours (*mérah-putih*) by Dipanaganara's troops during the Java War. See further below n.219.

65. On the armaments (mostly pikes, staves and slings) used by Dipanaganara's forces in the early stages of the Java War, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanaganara*, p. 275 n.166. Later, Dipanaganara was able to manufacture or purchase gunpowder and shot. Firearms (including some light cannon) were also used by his supporters. Kutha Gedhé (see below ns.124 and 137), militarily inviolate because of its joint administration by Yogyakarta and Surakarta, was a major centre of armaments manufacture and distribution at this time, see Carey (ed.), *loc.cit.* In fact, Payen later contradicts himself by reporting that Dipanaganara had eight small cannon with him at Selarong, see below n.218.
66. On the European-style military training received by the Mangkunagaran 'Legion' and the ability of some of their units (e.g. the mounted artillery) to hold their own against European troops, see above n.58; and Aukes, *Het Legioen*, pp.42-47.
67. On the drunkenness and incapacity of the commandant of the Second Military Division, Colonel von Jett, who was confined to the Yogya fort, at this time, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanaganara*, p.269 n.137.
68. Pangéran Aria Suryadipura, Major of the Mangkunagaran 'Legion', was not a son, but a first cousin of Mangkunagara II. Radèn Mas Captain Suwongsa (Suryadipura II, see below n. 82), was his son. A genealogical tree of the family relationships compiled from details in Soemahatmaka, *Pratelan para Darah Dalem Soewargi Kangdjeng Goesti Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkoenagara I hing Soerakarta Hadiningrat*, vol. I (Surakarta: Dinas Urusan Istana Mangkunagaran, 1973), p.7 (A7), p.9 (I.A7), p.54 (A29), p.59 (II.A29), can be found on p. 100.
69. This was the *Tugu*, a ten-foot-high obelisk or road marker which stood at the head of the great avenue of Yogyakarta (Jalan Maliabara) stretching from the northern *alun-alun* of the *kraton* directly north two kilometres to the main crossroads with the highways leading to Magelang (to the northwest) and Surakarta (to the northeast). The original *Tugu*, which was destroyed during a massive earthquake in 1867, was white-washed with limestone (hence the Dutch reference to it as the '*Witte Paal*' or 'White Road Marker') and carried a Javanese inscription relating to its erection during the reign of Sultan Hamengkubuwana I (Sultan Mangkubumi; reigned, 1749-92) shortly after the foundation of the Yogyakarta *kraton* in 1755. It was extensively rebuilt during the early

part of Sultan Hamengkubuwana VII's reign (1877-1921). According to local belief, it is the home of Kyai Jaga, the guardian spirit (*baureksa*) of Yogyakarta who had earlier ruled over the forest of Beringan (*Alas Bringan*) which had been cleared by Mangkubumi between 1749 and 1755 to make way for the building of his new *kraton*. On this and the symbolic connection of the *Tugu* with the enclosed *waringin* trees (*waringin kurung*) on the northern *alun-alun* of the *kraton*, see Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta 200 tahun, *Kota Jogjakarta 200 tahun: 7 Oktober 1756 - 7 Oktober 1956* (Jogjakarta: n.p., 1956), p.14, p.19; and P.B.R. Carey, 'Jalan Maliabara ("Garland Bearing Street"): The Etymology and Historical Origins of a Much Misunderstood Yogyakarta Street Name', *Archipel* n° 27 (1984), pp.51-62.



70. Cavalry Captain (*Ritmeester*) Louis, Philippe de Burbure (born Brussels, 25 Aug. 1785 [?] - died Weltevreden, 19 Nov. 1830), had served as a cavalry officer during the Napoleonic Wars and had been with the Dutch army as a First Lieutenant since 1814. Attached to the 7th Regiment of Hussars, he sailed for Indonesia in November 1818 and ended his career as Director of the Government horse stud-farms in Preanger (1828-29), see Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.385 (who gave his date of birth as 21 Aug. 1781) and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, p.539 n.1. Like so many of the officers serving with the Dutch forces in Indonesia at this

time (see e.g. above ns. 6 and 10 and below ns. 86, 90, 91, 113, 130, 170, 184, 190, 191, 228, 232, 254, 268, 270 and 272), De Burbure was Belgian born, a consequence of the employment opportunities which were open during the short-lived period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and Belgium (1814-31), see Cruyplants, *Histoire*, Chap.II; and E.H. Kossmann, *The Low Countries, 1780-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp.103-50.

71. See below ns. 189, 193.

72. See above n. 67.

73. This was K.G.P.A.A. Pakualam I (born Yogyakarta, 21 March 1764 - died Yogyakarta, 19 Dec. 1829), a son of the first Sultan by his Kedhu consort, Bendara Radèn Ayu Srenggara. A shrewd and ambitious politician who had designs on the Sultanate, Pakualam (previously Pangéran Natakusuma) had been rewarded by the British for his help against the bellicose Sultan Hamengkubuwana II (reigned, 1792-1810/-1811-12/1826-28) in June 1812 with an independent principality of 4,000 *cacah*, the hereditary title of Pakualam, and a small European trained military corps organised along the lines of the Mangkunagaran 'Legion' (see above n. 58 and below n. 114). He remained loyal to the Dutch throughout the Java War and units of his corps were used, with little effect, as auxiliaries against Dipanagara, see Carey (ed.), *Archive*, vol. I, p. 188 *sub*: 'Natakusuma'; and *Id.* (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.263 n.117. On the custodial arrest of the remaining Yogya princes in the fort at this time, see above n.55.

74. On the title bestowed on Pangéran Adinagara (above n. 51) by Dipanagara (given in Javanese sources as: 'Pangéran Adipati Suryèngalaga Sénapati Sabilullah', and in Dutch sources as: 'Kangjeng Gusti Pangéran Adipati Anom Suryèngalaga nèng prang', see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.126-27, p.286 n. 214; and KITLV H 699 ('Archiefstukken [Diverse] over de Vorstenlanden', 1820-89, G.P. Rouffaer notes), p.31 n° 26, p.32 n° 28, p.38 n° 32.

75. Copies of the letters in Dutch translation (prepared by the *Élève in de Javaansche Taal*, C.L. van den Berg) from Pangéran Adinagara (Suryèngalaga) to Radèn Tumenggung Major Wiranagara can be found in KITLV H 699 (Rouffaer notes), p.31 n° 26, and p.32 n° 28. For a reference to slightly later communication from Adinagara to Wiranagara, see below n.243.

76. This name is unclear in the original, but almost certainly refers to Payen's friend and fellow *Belge*, First Lieutenant François Delattre (1785-1833) who bore the nickname of 'Sisque' (or 'Susque') and was renowned for his peerless bravery, see above n. 10. 'Ce fameux Bayard' refers to the legendary French captain, Pierre Terrail, *Seigneur de Bayard*, known as the '*chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*'. Born near Grenoble in the Dauphiné in c. 1473, he covered himself with glory during the wars of the French kings, Charles VIII (reigned, 1483-98), Louis XII (reigned 1498-1515) and Francis I (reigned, 1515-47), and eventually died of wounds after the battle of Abbiategrosso (1524) during the latter

monarch's Italian campaigns, see Claude Augé (ed.), *Petit Larousse Illustré. Nouveau Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1906), p.1165. In Modern French, the term '*Fameux Bayard*' is used colloquially to refer to any exceptionally brave and honourable fighter.

77. See above n.30.

78. This may have been Dipanagara's *Patih* (head of his household retainers at Tegalreja), Mas Ngabèhi Mangunarja (see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.247 n.45), but there is no evidence in other sources that he was taken prisoner by the Dutch at this time. Indeed, if it was this man who was taken into custody, he must have escaped back to Dipanagara's side soon afterwards for there is a reference in the prince's autobiographical *babad* to Mangunarja (then bearing the title of Mas Tumenggung Mangunarja) as having been dispatched with a secret order for Dipanagara's ally and kinsman, Pangéran Adipati Natapraja, in late July or early August 1826, see Pangéran Arya Dipanagara, *Serat Babad Dipanagaran*, vol.I (Soerakarta: Albert Rusche & Co, 1908), pp.202-203 (full title in Bibliography).

79. On the burning of the wooden bridges and the obstruction of the main roads linking Yogyakarta with Magelang (in Kedhu) and Surakarta by Dipanagara's forces in July and August 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.244 n. 37. The object of this tactic was to effect the complete encirclement of Yogyakarta, and to cut the city off from all outside communications, thus preventing Dutch reinforcements from getting through. On Dipanagara's attempt to starve Yogyakarta into surrender, see further below n.194.

80. On Lieutenant Thierry, see above n.42. It seems that he committed suicide because he held himself personally responsible for the failure of the Dutch-led expedition against Selarong (which he had commanded with Chevallier, see above n.45), and because he felt that his honour had been compromised.

81. The name given by Payen in the original is virtually illegible: it seems to read 'Hinko-Worno', but there is no one of that name in the very exhaustive register of the Mangkunagaran family (*Darah Mangkunagaran*) compiled by the scholar of that court, Radèn Mas Ngabèhi Soemahatmaka, in 1936 (republished 1973), see above n.68. Indeed, in the report later drawn up by the commander of the expedition, Radèn Mas Captain Suwongsa (see Aukes, *Het Legioen*, pp.79-81), there is no mention of his having been accompanied by another officer of the 'Legion'.

82. On Radèn Mas Suwongsa, cavalry Captain (*Ritmeester*) of the Mangkunagaran dragoons, who was a son of the commander of the Mangkunagaran units in Yogya, Pangéran Aria Suryadipura I, and a son-in-law of Mangkunagara II, see above n. 68. A Dutch translation of his report on his ill-fated expedition to Surakarta, his subsequent capture by Dipanagara's supporters and his brief stay at the prince's headquarters at Selarong, can be found in dK 183, 'Verklaring van Radeen Maas Soewongso, Kapitein der Dragonders bij het Legioen van Pangerang Adipatti Ario Mangkoe-Negoro', Surakarta, 7 Aug. 1825. A large sec-

- tion of this interesting report is printed in Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.261-63; and Aukes, *Het Legioen*, pp.79-81. See further below n.179.
83. Second Lieutenant James Abell (born London, 17 Nov. 1794 - died Semarang, 13 Nov. 1827) was a cavalry officer who had served in a Dutch hussar regiment in Indonesia since 1816. He later (10 July 1826) became commandant of the *Jayèng Sekar* (mounted constabulary; *maré-chaussée*) in Tegal, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.412 n.5.
 84. Lieutenant-Colonel-Engineer (later Lieutenant-General) Frans, David Cochius (born Valkenburg [Gelderland], 17 Dec. 1787 - died Rijswijk, 1876) had been in Dutch military service in Indonesia since 1816 and was serving at this time as Assistant Director of Fortifications in Java. He was one of the most able and intelligent officers serving under General H.M. de Kock (see below n. 96) during the Java War, and he later held a number of important positions, including supreme commander of the Dutch East Indies Army and Government Commissioner for the West Coast of Sumatra. He retired from active military service, loaded with honours, on 28 October 1847, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.260 n.1; and T.J. Bezemer (ed.), *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff and Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1921), p.108 sub: 'Cochius'. For a description of the convoy which he led to the relief of Yogyakarta on 28 July 1825, see Louw, *op.cit.*, pp.265-66.
 85. On the destruction of the bridges around Yogyakarta by Dipanagara's troops, see above n. 79. The bridge in question was probably the one across the Kali Gajahwong about three kilometres from the centre of Yogyakarta, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.266; and De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.V, map.
 86. Captain Louis, Theodoor Monnoije (born Brussels, 9 May 1795 - killed on a road just outside Yogyakarta, 19 Oct. 1826) was a cavalry officer commanding the 'centre company' of Madurese (Sumenep) auxiliary troops previously stationed in Semarang, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.265 n.1. As a fellow Bruxellois, Payen usually referred to him in his journal as '*le capitaine Monnoije de Bruxelles*'.
 87. On the 50-man strong corps of Mangkunagaran horse artillery, one of the most effective units in the Mangkunagaran 'Legion', see Aukes, *Het Legioen*, pp. 42-47.
 88. The '*gladhag*' refers to the complex of bamboo barracks housing the members of the Yogyakarta porter's 'guild' in Klathèn. On the institution of the *gladhag*, which provided transport coolies for the courts in Central Java at this time, see J.F.C. Gericke, *Javaansch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek* (ed. T. Roorda) (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1847), p.655 sub: '*geladhag*'.
 89. The use of mobile columns by the Dutch, along with the later development of a system of small, fortified outposts (*bentèng*) in recently 'pacified' areas, were the two most important (and ultimately successful) military tactics employed against Dipanagara's forces. Originally designed, like Lieutenant-Colonel Cochius's column described here, to keep communications open between major Dutch garrison centres, the mobile

columns were deployed very effectively in the later stages of the war to prevent the Javanese from setting up permanent bases in the Javanese countryside and denying them vital sources of supply. Villages known to be sympathetic towards Dipanagara, for example, were often destroyed by the mobile column and their orchards (*pekarangan*), rice barns (*lumbung*) and livestock devastated, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, pp.577-80; and J. Hageman Jcz., *Geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830* (Batavia: Lange, 1856), p.132, p.234. According to a Dutch contemporary, the tactics used against the Javanese guerillas were partly inspired by those employed by the French general, Lazare Hoche (1768-97), against the counter-revolutionary insurgents in the Vendée (1793-5), see Dj. Br. 19^{II}, F.V.H.A. de Stuers (?), 'Inleiding tot de Geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java', n.d., p.5. On the composition of the Dutch officered mobile columns which usually numbered about 350-400 infantry (100-120 of whom were Dutch, the rest Indonesian auxiliaries), 30-40 hussars, two mounted artillery pieces, a pioneer detachment (25 men), a medical officer, a quartermaster, and a 37-40 strong horse train with five days of supplies, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.206; and G.B. Hooyer, *De Krijgsgeschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië van 1811 tot 1894*, vol.I (Den Haag: Van Cleef and Batavia: Kolff & Co, 1895), p.62.

90. Second-Lieutenant Nicolaas Mathot (born Luik [Liège], 1790 - died Yogyakarta, 1825), a cavalry officer, had gone to Indonesia in 1823 and was serving in the elite 7th Hussar Regiment under Major Paris de Montaigu (below n. 91). He was decorated with the Militaire Willems Orde, the highest Dutch military decoration for bravery on the battlefield (information courtesy of Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij).
91. Major Joseph Paris de Montaigu (born Marlenveld near Binche in the Austrian Netherlands, 10 Sept. 1789 - died Klathèn, 26 Oct. 1825) was a Belgian nobleman (*Jonker*) who had served as a cavalry officer in the Russian army under Tsar Alexander I (reigned, 1801-25) and had transferred to Dutch military service in 1817. He had been in Java since 1818 and had been with the elite 7th Hussar Regiment since 1821, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.291 n. 1, who also noted his various Russian military honours which he had gained for exceptional bravery on the field of battle.
92. This was Captain Sagermans's (see above n.6) Belgian-born housekeeper (*ménagère*), see further below the first sentence of Payen's entry for 28 September 1825, where he refers to her as '[ce] cher péque de dame Cathérine, de cette originale de Mechlin [?]'.
93. In Modern Javanese, 'brandhal' has the meaning of bandit, good-for-nothing, scoundrel, predator, rebel, freebooter, etc., see J.F.C. Gericke and T. Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek* (Ed. A.C. Vreede and J.G.H. Gunning), vol.II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1901), p.668 sub: 'brandhal'. The numbers of real bandits and criminals (*wong durjana*) in the

ranks of Dipanagara's supporters may have elicited the term and it seems to have been first officially used in a proclamation issued under the name of Sultan Hamengkubuwana V on 1 Sura A.J. 1753 (15 Aug. 1825) in which various prices were set on the heads of captured rebels, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.290 n.232, and below n.198. Although it was mainly a derisory expression, it was also employed as a description of the bands of *franc-tireurs* (snipers and irregular troops) drawn from the villages which were set up by Pakubuwana VI and Mangkunagara II in the first months of the war to combat Dipanagara's supporters, see below Payen's entry for 20 September 1825; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.282.

94. In the original Payen has written, '*...quelques scélérats mirent le feu aux maisons de Dano Hidjau près de la demeure du Radèn Adipati ...*' He seems to be referring to the same place, namely the *Kepatihan* complex which contained the residence (*dalem*) of the Yogya prime minister (*Patih*), Radèn Adipati Danureja IV (see above n.21), and the offices and houses of his numerous staff, police officials (*Macanan*; *Gunungan*) and personal retainers, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.249 n. 55, p.256 n. 91; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, 'Platte Grond van de Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta omstreeks 1830' *sub*: 'S' (Dalem van den Rijksbestierder), which shows its position on the right-hand side of Jalan Maliabara, about one kilometre north of the Yogya *kraton*, very much the same site as it occupies today.
95. On the firing and burning of extensive parts of the town (such as the *Kepatihan*, *Kampung Cina*, Pakualaman, and the *kampung* area around the Tugu) by Dipanagara's supporters in August 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.291 n. 233. When Willem van Hogendorp later visited Yogyakarta in 1828, he reported that every building along Jalan Maliabara from the European fort to the Witte Paal (Tugu) had been destroyed. This was partly because many Javanese nobles and senior officials (*priyayi*) had set fire to their residences (*dalem*) before going over to Dipanagara to prevent them falling into enemy hands, see H. Graaf van Hogendorp, *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indië*, pp.173-74. Payen's sarcastic remark, '*ils brûlent leur propre maison*', was thus rather more accurate than he may have intended.
96. Lieutenant-General Hendrik, Merkus (post-10 Jan. 1835, Baron) de Kock (born Heusden, 25 May 1779 - died 's-Gravenhage, 12 April 1845) served as supreme commander of the Dutch armies in the field in the princely territories (*vorstenlanden*) during the Java War (1825-30) and was also for a time Lieutenant-Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1826-30). Methodical and cautious by nature, he combined great political astuteness with military skill, and it was largely due to his leadership that the Dutch were ultimately able to bring the war to a successful conclusion. De Kock returned to the Netherlands in June 1830 and served for a time as the commander of the Dutch army in Zeeland during the Belgian revolt (1830-31) before becoming Minister of Home Affairs (*Binnenlandsch Zaken*) in the Dutch Government from 1836 to 1841. He retired from active politics in the latter year, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*,

- vol.I, p.253 n. 3. In an interesting aside during his time as Dutch army commander in Zeeland, he remarked that 'I feel that the Belgians are far and away worse than the Javanese, but I cannot say that they have always been handled very fairly by us' (*De Belgen houd ik voor oneindig slegter dan de Javaanen, maar kan niet zeggen dat den altoos door ons zeer billijk behandelt zijn*), see Leiden UB, BPL 1346, 'Brieven aan J.B. de Salis, 1824-1832', De Kock to J.B. de Salis, 22 June 1831.
97. For a full, printed report of this statement of the half-mad son of Pangéran Dipanagara, see H.G. Nahuys van Burgst (ed.), *Verzameling van Officiële Rapporten Betreffende den Oorlog op Java in de Jaren 1825-30*, vol.I (Deventer: M. Ballot, 1835), pp.10-14 ('Verklaring van Raden Mas Alip, zoon van den Prins Diponegoro', 3 Aug. 1825). Another copy of the Dutch translation prepared by the *Élève in de Javaansche Taal*, C.L. van den Berg, of Radèn Mas Alip's statement (originally given to Chevallier in Javanese), can be found in KITLV H 699 (Rouffaer notes), p.33 n° 28a. On Radèn Mas Alip, see further Louw, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol.III (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij and 's-Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1904), p.560.
98. On Suryadipura, see above n.51. In fact, Payen seems to have misquoted Radèn Mas Alip's report here for the letter made no mention in it of Pangéran Suryadipura. Instead, he referred to another younger brother of Dipanagara, Pangéran Adisurya (later, Pangéran Ngabdulkim) (born Yogyakarta, c.1800 - died Mt. Sirnabaya, Bagelèn, Dec. 1829), who, according to him, was the first to rally to the prince. Since the passage in which this information occurs also contains the name of Pangéran Suryabrangta (born c.1788), another younger brother of Dipanagara, Payen may have been confused. The following is the Dutch translation (by C.L. van den Berg) of what Radèn Mas Alip said: *'Mijn vader [Dipanagara] had de meeste prinsen zoeken over te halen om met hem zamen te doen in het smeden van het tegenwoordige bestaande oproer, en dat de Prins Adisurya sedert lang reeds de eerste is geweest die zich met hem met dat voornemen vereenigd heeft. Van de andere prinsen weet ik niet veel te zeggen omdat ik nooit bij hem aan huis geweest ben, behalven mijn schoonvader de Prins Suryabrangta die geantwoord heeft van nimmer van zijnen vorst te willen scheiden, en dat, zoolang zijnen vorst het Gouvernement nog getrouw diende hij dan hetzelfde zal doen'* ('My father [Dipanagara] had tried to win over most of the [Yogya] princes to participate with him in the planning of the present disturbances, and Prince Adisurya had, for sometime now, been the first to join him in that resolve. Concerning the other princes I cannot say very much because I never visited them in their residences, except for my father-in-law, Prince Suryabrangta, who replied [to Dipanagara] that he never wished to be separated from his ruler, and that, as long as the latter served the [Dutch] Government loyally, he would do the same').
99. C.L. van den Berg (born c. 1798) was a Student in the Javanese language (*Élève in de Javaansche Taal*) attached to the Yogyakarta Residency office. He appears to have been a brother of R.C.N. d'Abo (above n. 12) and like him was probably a Eurasian. He was apparently so fluent

in Javanese and so knowledgeable about Javanese manners and customs that people in Yogya almost considered him as a Javanese. When the question of appointing an official interpreter came up before the meeting at Magelang between Dipanagara and General De Kock in March 1830, Senthot (Ali Basah Prawiradirja) rejected the idea that Van den Berg should be chosen, opting for the army interpreter, Captain Johan Jacob Roeps (1805-40), instead. 'Van den Berg is so used to going round in the company of Javanese', Senthot remarked, 'that we almost view him as one of us', see vdB 384, H.M. de Kock to J. van den Bosch, 3 March 1830; E.B. Kielstra, 'Eenig Personen uit den Java-Oorlog', *Tijdspiegel*, 23 jrg., vol. 3 (1896), p. 296; and KB, old inv. no. IXe (A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. private papers pt.3 p.51), A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (*Élève in de Javaansche Taal*, Surakarta) to A.D. Cornets de Groot Sr. (Resident of Gresik), Sept. 1821. It was later suggested that Van den Berg should be removed from Yogyakarta and placed as Assistant-Resident of Jetis in Kedhu because he had acquired too much political influence in the Sultan's capital, see Dj. Br.17, J.I. van Sevenhoven to J. van den Bosch, 2 Feb. 1831.

100. News that Dipanagara had been remitting the *Puwasa* taxes to the heads of the villages under his control so that the latter could buy arms and assemble provisions and *padi* (unhusked rice) for his followers, had already been reported to the Yogya *Patih*, Danureja IV, by his secretary, Mas Ngabèhi Wiraprana (see above n.27), on about 15 July 1825, see MvK 4132 ('Bijlage Smissaert'), Mas Ngabèhi Wiraprana to Danureja IV, n.d. (? 15 July 1825); and Smissaert to Governor-General Van der Capellen, 19 July 1825. According to one source (Aukes, *Het Legioen*, p.62, quoting a letter from MacGillavry [Resident of Surakarta] to Smissaert, 19 July 1825) this had been going on over the space of 'four *Puwasa*'s' (i.e. four years). On the f. 3,000 in ready money and *padi* from the *Puwasa* taxes which Dipanagara had himself assembled at Tegalreja and had been forced to leave behind because of his precipitate flight on 20 July 1825, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.282 n.198.
101. Radèn Tumenggung Ranadiningrat was one of the eight senior officials (*Nayaka*) of the Yogyakarta court who had a position as an 'Outer' *Bupati* (*Wedana Jaba*) and had served for a time, before the appointment of Radèn Tumenggung Major Wiranagara (see above n.19), as commander of the Sultan's bodyguard (*Wedana Gedhé prajurit*), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.XVI, p.279 n.179, p.282 n.94. According to a Javanese source, Ranadiningrat was wounded in the left arm by a sling shot.
102. On the desertion of many of the members of the main Yogya *kraton* bodyguard regiments (including the 'priestly' *Suryagama* regiment) and senior court officials (*Bupati*; *abdi-Dalem*) to Dipanagara at this time, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.244 n.39, p.259 n.105, p.263 n.116, p.275 n.163; Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', p.404; Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.300; Dj.Br 54, Smissaert to P. le Clercq (Resident of Kedhu), 6 Aug. 1825; and below the second sentence of Payen's

entry for 6 August 1825.

103. On Radèn Mas Captain (*Ritmeester*) Suwongsa, see above ns. 68 and 82.
104. On Pangéran Arya Muhamad Abubakar (born Yogyakarta, c. 1765 - killed in fighting during the Java War, 1826), a son of the first Sultan, who had changed his name from Pangéran Dipawijaya I in November 1810 in preparation for making the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca which he never carried out, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.243 n.36, p.254 n.79, p.278 n.178; and *Id.*, *The British in Java*, n.5 of the *babad*; and Dj.Br.36, P. Engelhard (Resident of Yogyakarta) to Daendels, 3 Nov. 1810 (who reported that Dipawijaya I [Abubakar] had cut his hair and become a 'priest' [*santri*] in order to remain aloof from any approaching conflict between the second Sultan and the European Government in 1819, on the eve of Radèn Rongga's rebellion in the eastern *mancanagara* provinces [21 Nov - 17 Dec. 1810]). In the eyes of contemporary Dutch officials Abubakar was a '*slecht sujet*' (scallywag; reprobate), see Dj.Br.54, Smissaert to MacGillavry (Resident of Surakarta), 7 Aug. 1825, where he referred to him as 'a Haji (sic.) and an evil man, the head of a robber band who had fired the powder magazine in the (European) fort in June 1812 (i.e. at the time of the British attack on Yogyakarta)'. See further Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', p.405.
105. These were members of the 'priestly' *Suranatan* and *Suryagama* body-guard regiments of the Sultan of Yogyakarta made up of court religious officials, *kraton santri* and *Haji*, see Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, p.259 n. 105. Both the regiments were later reconstituted as personal body-guard formations of Dipanagara during the Java War, see Aukes, *Het Legioen*, p.74; Hageman, *Geschiedenis*, p.230 n.; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.208.
106. On the great regalia (*pusaka ageng*) of Mataram and the way they had supposedly been divided at the meeting between Sunan Pakubuwana III (reigned, 1749-88) and the first Sultan (Mangkubumi) at Jatisari on 15 February 1755, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp.74-76; and J. Groenman, *De Garebeg's te Ngajogyakarta* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1895), pp.59-60. The three great regalia of the Yogyakarta court are Kangjeng Kyai Ageng Bethok (a *kris* said to have originally belonged to the sixteenth-century ruler of Demak, Sunan Prawata), Kangjeng Kyai Ageng Kopèk (another *kris* supposedly handed down from the legendary *wali* [apostle of Islam], Sunan Kalijaga) and the lance Kangjeng Kyai Ageng Plèrèd, the weapon with which, according to tradition, Ki Pamanahan of Mataram slew Pangéran Aria Panangsang of Jipang in A.J. 1471 (1549). On the latter, which was apparently given to Wiranagara for safe keeping at this time, see further Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.52-53, p.265 n.121.
107. Wiranagara's wife was a daughter of Pangéran Abubakar, see above n.104.
108. On Ratu Agung, see above n.55; and Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*,

- p.264 n.120. Hageman (*Geschiedenis*, p.38) characterised her as a 'sensible woman', but she was also accused of having rather loose morals (she supposedly had an affair with Wiranagara before transferring her affections to Mas Cukit, a *wayang wong* dance performer), and her overly close association with Wiranagara incurred Dipanagara's bitter anger, see further Hageman, *op.cit.*, pp.38-39; and Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', pp.310-313.
109. This was the Sultan (HB V's) major-domo (chief official of his personal household and private treasurer), Mas Ngabèhi Ratawijaya (post-June 1830, Kyai Tumenggung Jaganegara, *Wedana Gladhag* of Yogyakarta), a low-born court favourite (*wong kaluluting negari*) of considerable financial acumen and ruthlessness, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.301 n. 3; SB 144 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol.III), LXI.50-53, p.370 (transliterated copy, KITLV Or 467, vol.III, p.290); MvK 4132 ('Bijlage Smissaert') 'Lists of Debts of Yogya Citizens' (principally moneys owed to and borrowed by Mas Ngabèhi Ratawijaya), 5 Oct. 1825; and below Payen's entry for 7 August 1825 and n.237.
 110. News of this general attack scheduled for 6 August which was supposed to be led in person by Dipanagara, Mangkubumi and Adinagara, was reported to Captain M.J.Bouwensch (commandant of the Yogyakarta garrison) by Smissaert on 4 August, see Dj.Br.54, Smissaert to Capt. Bouwensch, 4 Aug. 1825. According to Smissaert, the attack was supposed to coincide with the 35-day birthday celebration (*wedalan*; Javanese combination of the 7 day and 5 day market [*pasar*] week) of the exiled Sultan Sepuh (Hamengkubuwana II). On the latter, who had recently returned to Java and was at that time living on board a Dutch warship in Surabaya harbour, see below n.197.
 111. See above n.109.
 112. There is no trace in any of the land registers of an estate by this name ever having been rented by Jonkheer P.M.M.Bouwens van der Boijen, see above n.6; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.604-614. Indeed, there is not even a village of that name mentioned in the very exhaustive list of toponyms in Java and Madura compiled by W.F.Schoel (*Alphabetisch Register van de Administratieve-[Bestuurs-] en Adatrechtelijke Indeeeling van Nederlandsch-Indie. Deel 1: Java en Madoera* [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1931]). Besides, it seems unlikely (as is suggested by the sense of this passage) that 'Pancu' was located in Kedhu because Europeans were not allowed to rent lands in Government-controlled areas (which Kedhu had been since its annexation from the Central Javanese courts in 1812). It is possible that Payen was confusing the name with that of Sempu, a coffee estate rented by the Nantaise born estate owner, Joseph Donatien Boutet, which was situated just below Bedhaya on the slopes of Mt. Merapi and which was burnt during this period, see S.Br.131, Commissarissen Belast met de Verevening der Zaken van de Verhuurde Landerijen in de Residentien Soerakarta en Djocjacarta to Governor-General, 1 Aug. 1824; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.611 n. 89 (where Sempu is listed [erroneously?]) as having belonged to another French estate owner, S.R. d'Infri-

ville, in Jan. 1823); and *Id.*, vol. II, 'Overzichtskaart van een Gedeelte der Residentiën Soerakarta, Jogjakarta en Kedoe' (for the location of Sempu).

113. Lieutenant Sauvage (born? - killed in an ambush at Pisangan, 1 Feb. 1826) was an infantry officer of the 19th Infantry Division stationed in Java (Semarang), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. II, p.198. According to information kindly supplied by Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief, there is a possibility that this is the same man as Lieutenant Franciscus Sauvage (born Yperen, 1800 - died Klathèn, 1827) who had served in Indonesia since 1823. But the date of the latter's death does not seem to fit with the above.
114. On the small corps of one hundred mounted lancers which had been set up by the British after Pakualam's appointment as an independent prince on 22 June 1812, see above n.73; M.L. van Deventer (ed), *Het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java en Onderhoorigheden sedert 1811. Vol. i: 1811-1820* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891), pp. 334-35; and Carey (ed.), *The British in Java*, n.291 of the *babad*. Payen's later strictures (below entry for 23 August 1825) about the members of this corps as having been 'as useless as the bodyguards of the Preanger *Bupatis*' are fully borne out in contemporary Dutch comments, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, p.402, where Payen's friend, Captain Sagermans (above n.6), was quoted as having said that Pakualam's troops were 'only good as showpieces (*figuranten*) as long as there is nothing more [exacting] to do than to keep the coolies together. Should, however, something [serious] happen [by way of a military engagement], nothing would remain for even the best [European] officer commanding them than dishonour [i.e.flight] or a wretched death'.
115. The main districts controlled by Dipanagara's forces in Kedhu at this time were Menorèh, Bandongan and Prabalingga, all situated in the south and south-west of the Residency. For their location, see Afdeling Statistiek, *De Residentie Kadoe naar de Uitkomsten der Statistieke Opname en Andere Officiële Bescheiden Bewerkt door de Afdeling Statistiek ter Algemeene Secretarie* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1871), district maps facing p. 48. They also threatened for a time the districts of Balak, Magelang and Ngasinan in the immediate vicinity of the Residency capital (Magelang) where the Dutch garrison were closely besieged in late July and early August. For a very full account of the developments in Kedhu during this period, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.269-74, pp.310-322.
116. See above n.112.
117. Second Lieutenant (later Major) Cornelis Sickesz (born Amsterdam, 2 May 1799 - died ?) had begun his career in the Dutch army as a private soldier at the age of sixteen in 1815. He had served in Java with the 5th Battalion of the 19th Infantry Division since 1820 and had been appointed an officer in 1824. He subsequently lost an arm in action against Dipanagara's forces at Manggir to the south of Yogya in July 1828 and eventually retired from the Dutch Indies army with the rank of Major on 24 February 1843, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol., p.308 n.4: and below n.240 (for his mention in dispatches on 3 Sept.

- 1825). On Captain Monnoije and his Madurese (Sumenep) troops, see above n.86.
118. On Lieutenant Wieseman, see above n.30.
119. This accords well with Raffles's estimate which he made in his *History*: 'The circumference of the wall of the *kraton* of Yúgya-kérta [Yogyakarta] is not less than three miles, and it was estimated that at the period of the assault in 1812, it did contain fewer than from ten to fifteen thousand people. That of Súra-kérta [Surakarta] is neither so extensive nor so well built'. See Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol.I (London: Black, Parbury & Allen and John Murray, 1817), p.84.
120. Cavalry Captain (*Ritmeester*) (later Cavalry Major) Josua Verboon (born Schiedam, 22 Aug. 1783 - died Yogyakarta, 10 Oct. 1826) was serving at this time as a senior officer in the regiment of Dutch East Indies Hussars, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.268 n.2.
121. A *bendhé* is a type of small copper or bronze cymbal which is sounded as a war-alarm to gather people for battle or to assemble the local inhabitants of a *désa* or *kampung* in the event of danger, see Gericke and Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, vol.II, p. 654 sub: '*bendhé*'; Horne, *Javanese-English Dictionary*, p.68 sub: '*bendhé*'; and below n.149. On the sounding of these *bendhé* and drums by Dipanagara's supporters during the Java War, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.100-101, p.279 n.182; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.III, p.71.
122. For a description of the European quarter (*Kampung Welandi*) of Yogyakarta in 1812, see KITLV H 503, J.I. van Sevenhoven, 'Aanteekeningen Gehouden op eene Reis over Java van Batavia naar de Oosthoek in ... 1812' (ed. F. de Haan), p.110, who mentioned that it was an unimpressive place with narrow houses shut off from the street by very tall, brick walls, the streets themselves being very small and dirty. From his observations the European and Indo-European townsfolk (*burgers*) domiciled there lived very poorly and eked out a bare existence from moneylending and petty trade (see also below n.237). According to Smissaert (Dj.Br.52, A.H. Smissaert to President *Hoog Raad van Justitie* [Batavia], 7 April 1823) the value of the various houses in the European quarter (70 houses in all) ranged from f.220 to f. 4,000, whereas in the Chinese quarter (*Kampung Cina*) (below n.127) there were only two or three houses worth f. 1,500, the rest being small *warung* (road-side shops) of very simple construction. See also Dj.Br. 19^{II}, *BGG ir*, 17 May 1825 no.24, 'Reglement van Orde and Politie van de Hoofdplaats Djocjakarta', April 1825, which gives a good insight into the regulations affecting the European quarter of Yogyakarta on the eve of the Java War. On its location behind the European fort, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, 'Platte Grond van Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta oms-treeks 1830', sub: 'D' (Europeesche kamp). According to MvK 3124, 'Register van het Europees Personeel op Java en Madoera: Residentie Djokokarta', 1 Jan. 1819, there were a total of 102 European males over the age of sixteen residing in the Sultan's capital at this time, of whom only thirty-three had been born outside Java, and, of these, no

outside Java, and, of these, no less than twenty-four had spent over twenty years on the island.

123. Payen is here referring to members of the European adult male population of Yogyakarta (above n.122) who were later formed by Lieutenant-Colonel Achenbach (below n.135) into a citizens' militia (*schutterskorps*), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.307; and Payen's entry for 21 August 1825 below where the latter is referred to as '*la garde bourgeoise*'.
124. On the importance of Kutha Gedhé as a retreat and armaments centre for Dipanagara's forces during the Java War, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.275 n.166; and KITLV H 263, P.D. Portier, 'Verklaring... houdende een verhaal gedurende zijn gevangenschap bij de muiltelingen', n.d. (? Nov. 1826) (who mentioned that most of the flints for Dipanagara's firearms were manufactured there). It was also turned into the major local market by Dipanagara's supporters at this time when strenuous efforts were being made by the prince to starve Yogyakarta into surrender, see Carey (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.287 n.221; and below n.189.
125. This was the main road from the Sultan's capital to Kulon Praga and Bagelèn which passed through the royal retreat (*pesanggrahan/kalangenan-Dalem*) at Ambarketawang (Gunung Gamping), the main source of limestone (*kapur*) supply for Yogyakarta, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, 'Overzichtskaart van een Gedeelte der Residentiën Soerakarta, Jogjakarta en Kedoe'; and Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.238 n.21.
126. See above n.43.
127. On the Yogya Chinese quarter (*Kampung Cina*), which, in 1808, contained some 65 Chinese males over the age of fourteen years who were employed in various occupations as landrenters, traders, tollgate keepers (*bandar*), scribes, coolies, schoolmasters, carpenters, painters, butchers, sugar-makers (i.e. sugar factory owners), and gambling house owners, see above n.122; below n.215; and Dj.Br.86, Tan Jin Sing (*Kapitan Cina* of Yogya, 1803-13), 'Generaale Lyst van zoodanige Chineesen als volgens Opgave van den Capitein dien Natie alhier, Tan Djin Sing, zich alhier te Djocjacarta en Verdere Daaronder Gehoorende Plaatsen Bevinden, met Aantooning van Hunne Woonplaats en Kostwinning', May 1808. The total Chinese adult male population in the Yogya lands at this time was 758 souls, but by 1825 (with the lure of the quick profits to be made from the burgeoning tollgate system after 1816) this was certainly much higher, see J.B.J. van Doren, *Reis naar Nederlands Oost-Indie*, p.337, who gave an unsubstantiated figure of 900 Chinese in the town of Yogya alone in 1823. In the annexed region of Kedhu, for example, the total Chinese population had grown by over a third between 1815 and 1822, see Raffles, *History*, vol.I, p.62, 'Abstract of a General Statistic Table of Population', which gives a figure of 1,139 Chinese in Kedhu in 1815; and Afdeling Statistieke, *De Residentie Kadoe*, p.79 (quoting G.R. Schneither, 'Statistieke der Residentie Kadoe, 1822'), which gives a figure of 1,614 Chinese in

Kedhu in 1822. Most of the Chinese in Central Java at this time were either Hokkiens or Cantonese and the majority bore the family names of 'Tan', 'Laauw', 'Lim', 'Ong', 'Oey', 'Lee', 'The' and 'Ting'. For a full discussion of the status and changing economic role of the Chinese in Central Java at this time, see Peter Carey, 'Changing Javanese Perceptions of the Chinese Communities in Central Java, 1755-1825', *Indonesia* no.37 (April 1984) pp.1-47. On Chinese commercial relations and support for Dipanagara during the war, see below ns. 179 and 215.

128. The *payung* (kr. *songsong*) were state umbrellas and part of the insignia of office of members of the royal families and high Javanese officials. Dipanagara bestowed them on those of his supporters whom he appointed to high administrative and military positions during the Java War, and there are various references to them having been carried into battle by his commanders, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.285 n.209. According to the Surakarta version of the *Babad Dipanagara* (Carey [ed.], *loc. cit.*), they were even regarded as symbols of the 'holy war' (*pratan-dhanira prang sabil*) against the Dutch. For a description of the various colours of *payung* at this time and those who were entitled to them in the *kraton* and provincial administrative hierarchies, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.498 n.1 (quoting J. Groneman).
129. This was Captain Menso, Johannes Bouwensch (born Arnhem, 6 Feb. 1788 - died ?), an infantry officer who had seen service at the Cape of Good Hope, Prussia, Zeeland, Germany and with Napoleon's ill-fated *grande armée* in Russia (1812-13). He had been with the Dutch army in Indonesia since 1817 and had served in Sulawesi before becoming Yogya garrison commandant on the eve of the Java War. He never rose above the rank of Captain and appears to have lacked drive and initiative. After the arrival of the relief column from Klathèn on 19 August 1825, he was superseded by Lieutenant-Colonel Achenbach (below n.135) as the senior local serving officer with whom Lieutenant-General De Kock maintained all official (civil and military) correspondence. At his own request Bouwensch was retired from active military service in January 1827, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.255 n.1.
130. Captain (later Major) Louis, Alexandre van Ganzen (born Vilvoorde near Brussels, 11 April 1795 - died Yogyakarta, 4 Sept. 1828) had begun his military career as a Surgeon (3rd Class) at the *dépôt-général* in Brussels in 1813, and had then served as an infantry officer (? with the Dutch-Belgian forces) in France in 1815. He had transferred to the Netherlands-Indies army in 1816 and had served in Indonesia since 1817. Like Captain Monnoije (above n.86), he commanded a company of Madurese auxiliary troops from Sumenep, see Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.330; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.357 n.
131. It is unclear who this was, but the hereditary name of the Surakarta *Bupati Wedana* (Head of the Administration) in Banyumas was 'Yudanegara'. One *Bupati* by this name, Radèn Tumenggung Yudanegara VI, had been dismissed because of his role in the so-called 'Sepoy

Conspiracy' of 1815 in Surakarta, see RAS, Raffles Coll. vol. III, 'Miscellaneous Memorandum on Surakarta'; and Carey, 'Sepoy Conspiracy', p.308. It is possible that his son may have succeeded him. The Surakarta *Bupati Wedana* of the area in c. 1830 was Radèn Tumenggung Cakra-wedana, supposedly a great-uncle of Sunan Pakubuwana VI (reigned, 1823-30). He was aided in his functions by Radèn Tumenggung Martadirja, see NvB 22, 'Naamlyst der bij Zijne Hoogheid den Soesoehoenan dienst doende Regenten en Kliwons te Soerakarta', n.d. The only other Surakarta *Bupati* in the western *mancanagara* (outlying provinces) at this time was Radèn Tumenggung Dipayuda of Ayah (Bagelèn). Their principal assistants (*Kliwon*) were: Radèn Ngabèhi Cakradirja of Pasir Purwakerta; Radèn Ngabèhi Kertapraja of Pathikreja; Mas Ngabèhi Ranadirja of Banjar; Radèn Ngabèhi Mangunyuda of Banjar; Radèn Ngabèhi Dipakusuma of Prabalingga; Radèn Ngabèhi Sumadirja of Pasir Sokareja; Radèn Ngabèhi Reksapraja of Panjer; Radèn Ngabèhi Suradirja of Panjer; and Radèn Ngabèhi Wiradika of Dayeuh Luhur. For a reference to the Second *Bupati* of Banyumas, Radèn Tumenggung Brajadiningrat, in November 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.486.

132. Ratu Kencana (see above ns. 26 and 55) was a daughter of the second *Patih* of Yogyakarta, Radèn Adipati Danureja II (in office, 1799-1811; strangled on the orders of HB II, 28 Oct. 1811) and Ratu Anggèr (daughter of HB II and Ratu Kedhaton). For a short biography of her father and the reasons for his murder, see Carey (ed.), *Archive*, vol. I, p. 184 *sub*: 'Danureja II'. In May 1816, Ratu Kencana married the boy Sultan, Hamengkubuwana IV (reigned, 1814-22), and bore him four children, only two of whom (the future fifth Sultan [reigned, 1822-26 / 1828-55] and his younger brother, Pangéran Mangkubumi, the future sixth Sultan [reigned, 1855-77]) survived into adulthood), see K.R.T. Mandoyokusumo, *Serat Raja Putra Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* (Yogyakarta: Bebadan Museum Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, 1976), pp.37-39, nos. 1, 6, 12 and 14. Ratu Kencana always reproached herself for not having gone to her husband's deathbed after he had had a fit on returning from a tour outside the *kraton* at 3.30 p.m. on the afternoon of Friday, 6 December 1822. Since that time she had often shown signs of psychological unbalance in the afternoons, frequently dressing up at the same time every day in the clothes she had worn at the hour of her husband's death and behaving in a distressed manner, see Hageman, *Geschiedenis*, p.39 (who characterised her as 'an empty-headed, even deranged woman' who was completely under the influence of Ratu Agung); and W. Palmer van den Broek (ed.), 'Geschiedenis van het Vorstenhuis Madoera uit het Javaansch Vertaald', *TBG*, vol.20 (1873), p.480. Smissaert also reported that, during her bouts of illness, Ratu Kencana would often stay up all night reading *wayang* (Javanese shadow-play) stories, see Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', p.10; and she later stabbed and seriously wounded a court lady who had offended her, see Carey, *The British in Java*, n.509 of the *babad*.

133. Ratu Mas was a daughter of the first Sultan (Mangkubumi's) famous army commander, Radèn Rongga Prawiradirja I (*Bupati Wedana* of Madiun, 1755-85) and had been the first consort of the Yogya Crown Prince (later Sultan Hamengkubuwana III; reigned, 1812-14). The latter had apparently never got on well with her and her disloyal and obstructive actions during the difficult period when the future third Sultan had acted as Regent of Yogyakarta (Jan.-Oct. 1811) after the disposition of his father, the second Sultan, by Daendels, had caused him to demote her to the rank of second consort in July 1812. They had no children, see Carey (ed.), *The British in Java*, n.140 of the *babad*.
134. This was Gusti Radèn Ayu Sekar Kadhaton (born c. 1822) who died young (*séda timur*), see Mandoyokusumo, *Serat Raja Putra*, p.39 n.14; and Dwidjosoegondo and Adisoetrisno, *Serat Dharah*, p.105 no.14.
135. Lieutenant-Colonel Johan, Christiaan Achenbach (born 's-Gravenhage, 6 May 1787 - died Semarang, 15 Dec. 1825) was a career infantry officer who had seen extensive service in Europe during the Napoleonic wars. He had been with the Dutch army in Indonesia since October 1816, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.286 n.2. After his arrival in Yogyakarta from Klathèn with a later relief column on 19 August, he took command of the Yogya garrison, superseding the previous commandant Captain M.J. Bouwensch (above n.129) and maintaining direct official correspondence with Lieutenant-General De Kock until the latter finally lifted the siege of the town in late September 1825, see the last sentence of Payen's entry for 17 September 1825; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.306 ff.
136. See above n.91.
137. See above n.65. On the administrative structure of Kutha Gedhé at this time, see H.J. van Mook, 'Koeta Gedé', *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, vol.15 (1926), pp.353-400; and Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town*, (Yogyakarta: University of Gajah Mada Press, 1984), chap. 2. The two 'chiefs' of Surakarta and Yogyakarta mentioned here were probably the two *Lurah Jurukunci* (one from each court) who carried the rank of *Panèiwu* in the Javanese official hierarchy and the title of *Radèn* or *Mas* in the Javanese aristocracy, see Nakamura, *loc.cit.* The usual official names were: Amad-Dalem Resadipa (for the Surakarta *Lurah Jurukunci*) and Amad-Dalem Sapingi or Mustahal (for the Yogyakarta *Lurah Jurukunci*), see Van Mook, *op.cit.*, Appendices. Many of the officials (*Amad-Dalem*) and *ulama* from the Yogyakarta areas of Kutha Gedhé made common cause with Dipanagara and his local commanders during the war, see Dj.Br. 9B, 'Brieven van den Pangeran Adipatti Notto Prodjo met dezelve vertalingen, 1827', Pangéran Natapradja to Lt. A.E. Klaring, 12 Besar A.J. 1754 (7 July 1827).
138. On this, see Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', pp.346-49; and Dj.Br.54, Smissaert to De Kock, 9 August 1825. The main source is Dipanagara's own autobiographical *babad* (Rusche [ed.], *Serat Babad Dipanagaran*, vol.I, pp.103-104), which described how the Ratu Agung (above n.108) had the same dream three times in which a voice informed her

that Ratu Kencana should marry a '*wali wudhar*' (Prophet of God who exercises both temporal and spiritual functions) whose residence was to the north-west of the Yogya *kraton*, otherwise Java would be devastated by war and the Ratu Agung would die. Although it is not explicitly stated in Dipanagara's account, it is clear that the residence to the north-west of Yogya was a reference to his estate at Tegalreja (which was indeed situated in that location), and Pangéran Mangkubumi agreed to try and persuade his nephew (Dipanagara) to comply in the marriage. But the mission of his wife, Radèn Ayu Sepuh, to the prince was unsuccessful, see further Van der Kemp, *loc. cit.*

139. This was Pieter le Clercq (born Warmond, 26 June 1787 - died Cianjur, 20 Feb. 1839), who had been in Netherlands-Indies Government service since 1815 and was at this time serving as Temporary Resident of Kedhu (1821-25). He later became Resident of the Preanger Regencies (1825-27), Governor of Makasar (1827-29) and Resident of Semarang (1829-34). After returning to the Netherlands for an extended leave (1834-1837), he served once again as Resident of the Preanger Regencies (1837-39) and died in office on 20 February 1839. He was married to a daughter of the *Algemeen Secretaris* (General Secretary of the Netherlands-Indies Administration) and *Raad van Indië* (Member of the Governor General's Council [Council of the Indies]), A.F. Bousquet, see MvK 3091, 'Stamboek van Oost Indisch Ambtenaren (1814-49)', f.38.
On the dangerous situation in Kedhu in late July and early August 1825 when the Dutch had to beat off a series of attacks on the Residency capital, Magelang, see above n.115; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.310-322.
140. The district of Kalibeber (now only a market town) was situated just to the north of Wanasaba straddling the road which runs from Bage-lèn through Wanasaba to the north coast. Until the annexation of the surrounding province of Karangobar by the European Government on 22 March 1825, it had been ruled jointly by the two main Javanese courts, but was subsequently incorporated in the Residency of Pekalongan, see Van Der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken', pp.38-39. Ledhok was the old name of the area of the upper Serayu river valley stretching from the district of Kaliwira (south of Wanasaba) to the Dieng / Gunung Sundhara region, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.III, Plaat I: 'Westelijk-Gedeelte van het Oorlogstooneel van den Java-Oorlog 1825-1830'; and, on the fighting in the area in August and September 1825, see *Id.*, vol.I, pp.323-339, and below n.234.
141. On the plight of the Chinese communities in Central and East Java during the opening months of the Java War, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.XLIII, p.43, p.260 n.106, p.280 n.188, p.291 n.233, p.292 n.241: *Id.*, 'Changing Javanese Perceptions', pp. 1-3, and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.522-25, 545, 561, 584.
142. On this, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.269 n.137.
143. Second Lieutenant (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Albert, Hendrik, Wen-

- delin de Kock (born Surabaya, 20 March 1808 - died the Hague 17 June 1891) was at this time serving as Adjutant to his father, Lieutenant-General H.M. de Kock (above n.96). After the Java War, he occupied various senior staff and administrative positions on the West Coast of Sumatra during the latter part of the Padri War (1821-37) and was later Government Commissioner to Bali, participating as Deputy Army Commander during the Second Dutch Expedition against that island in May 1848. In November of the same year, he was honourably discharged from active military service and went over to the Dutch civil administration filling a series of important appointments (*i.a.* Resident of Yogyakarta, 1848-51) before taking his pension in 1860, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.291 n.2.
144. Lieutenant J.F.W. (?) von Kriegenbergh was a pensioned cavalry officer who was seconded to the Sunan of Surakarta, Pakubuwana VI's (reigned, 1823-30), troops (mostly cavalry) which had been sent as auxiliaries to strengthen the Yogya garrison in July 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.301, p.301 n.4; vol.II, p.301. A German by birth, he appears on the list of European inhabitants in Sala in 1824. There is, however, no extant regimental roll or service record (*stamboek*) available for him in the Ministry of the Colonies archive. There was also a Michael von Kriegenbergh living with a military rank in Sala (or Magelang) in 1823. Information courtesy of Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief.
 145. Mr. Gerard, Jan, Chrétien Schneither (born Leiden, 19 Feb. 1795 - died Arnhem, 16 March 1877), a lawyer by training, was at this time serving as Private Secretary to the Governor-General, G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26). He returned to the Netherlands with the latter in 1826 and then spent another brief period in Indonesia as a member of the bench of the High Court (*Hooggerechtshof*) in Batavia (1828-32) before retiring for good to Gelderland where he served as Adviser (*Raadsheer*) to the provincial assize court. The statistical materials which he collected during his first period in Indonesia, and which are now in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague), constitute some of the most important sources for the social and economic history of Java during this period, see *Verslagen omtrent's-Rijks Oude Archieven* (1915), pp.342-55. He appears to have been a good friend of Payen.
 146. Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Robbert, Lieve, Jasper van der Capellen, a younger brother of the Governor-General van der Capellen, was at this time serving as Resident of the Preanger Regencies (in office, 1819-25), see J.K.W. Quarles van Ufford, 'Naamlijst van Hoofden van Gewestelijk Bestuur op Java en Madoera van 1817 to 1859', *BKI*, 2nd series vol.3 (1860), p.125. Like Schneither (above n.145), he was a good friend of Payen and looked after his pupil, Radèn Saleh (below n.223) when the latter was studying at the school which Van der Capellen had set up in Cianjur in 1822 to educate the sons of native chiefs, see De Loos-Haaxman, *Verlaat Rapport Indië*, p.54. He left Indonesia for good retiring from Government service at the end of 1825.
 147. It is unclear who this was and it is likely that Payen has garbled the

- name in his journal. The only Tumenggung Ontawijaya who is mentioned in the Javanese chronicles of the Java War apparently fought on the Dutch side, serving as a 'commander' of the *bèntèng* (fortified outpost) at Potrabayan to the south of Imagiri on the Opak river in 1828-29, see *Yogya kraton* MS. A.62 (*Babad Dipanagara*), p.695 ff. It was clearly not this man that Payen was referring to as Pangéran Adinagara's lieutenant in August 1825. The most likely explanation is that the individual in question was Kyai Ngabèhi Anggawicana, a bandit (*kècu*) leader from the south of Yogyakarta who was appointed by Dipanagara as the head of all the robbers (*kècu*) in the region in July 1825. Since Adinagara was also commanding an army to the south of Yogyakarta at this time and had been invested with authority over Dipanagara's supporters in that area, the connection with Anggawicana would seem even clearer, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.243 n.36, p.286 n.214; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.262, p.432 ff., and p.434 n.1.
148. See above ns.51 and 147. Adinagara's full title in the Javanese sources is given as Pangéran Adipati Suryèng(a)laga Sénapati Sabilullah, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.126-27, p.286 n.214; and in the Dutch sources as 'Pangéran Adipati Anom Surya Ingalaga Sénapati nèng prang', see Dj.Br.54, Smissaert to Residents of Java, 2 Aug. 1825. Presumably Payen obtained the information from the latter source, probably through his friend, the Assistant-Resident of Yogya, P.F.H. Chevallier.
149. 'brèng-brèng' is the Javanese onomatopoeic word for the metallic clanging sound of the local alarm (*bendhé*), see above n.121; and Horne, *Javanese-English Dictionary*, p.93 sub: 'brèng'.
150. Krapyak was a royal retreat (*pesanggrahan* / *kalangenan-Dalem*) built by the first Sultan of Yogyakarta just to the south of the *kraton* of Yogyakarta. It was part of the old forest of Beringan (*Alas Bringan*), which had been cleared between 1749 and 1755 to make way for the building of the *kraton* (above n.69) and still contained a game reserve (*krapyak*) for deer and other wild animals which the first Sultan used to hunt. Later in his reign, some well irrigated *sawah* (wet ricefields) were laid out there as part of the royal domain, see *Kota Yogyakarta 200 tahun*, p.18; L. Adam, 'De Pleinen, Poorten en Gebouwen van de Kraton van Jogjakarta', *Djawa*, 20 jg. (1940), p.188; and Carey (ed.), *The British in Java*, n.328 of the *babad*. It was used as Pangéran Adinagara (Suryèng[a]laga's) headquarters in late July and August 1825 when Dipanagara was mounting his early attacks on Yogyakarta, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.286 n.214.
151. Pangéran Blitar (born Yogyakarta, c. 1784 - died Yogyakarta, c. 1827) was a son of the first Sultan who joined Dipanagara at Selarong sometime before 29 July 1825. Before his death, he left an interesting account of the immediate causes of the war and the reasons for Dipanagara's discontent, see MvK 4204, *Geheim Verbaal* no. 159 (1828), Pangéran Blitar to Sultan Hamengkubuwana II, 10 Oct. 1826, La C no.3. On Blitar's financial difficulties before the war, which may

have spurred him on to make common cause with the prince, see P.B.R. Carey, 'The Origins of the Java War (1825-1830)', *English Historical Review*, vol.XCI (Jan.1976) no.CCCLVIII, p.69.

152. See above n.129.
153. There was no prince by this name in Yogyakarta at this time, but Payen may have been referring to the residence of the erstwhile *Patih* of Yogyakarta, Kyai Adipati Danureja III (in office, 1811-13), who had been pensioned off with the title of Kyai Adipati Adipurwa in December 1813, see SB 144 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol.III, LXX.16-20, p.425 [KITLV Or 467, vol.III, p.345]). The same passage in this *babad* source states that, after his retirement, Adipurwa was given the ex-residence of the erstwhile *Bupati Wedana* of Kedhu, Radèn Tumenggung Natayuda (died of poisoning, 29 Nov. 1804), which was situated just to the north of the *kraton* on the Gamping road, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, 'Platte Grond van de Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta omstreeks 1830'.
154. The same complaint was echoed by the British in June 1812 when they used stocks of poor Dutch gunpowder to shell the *kraton* prior to their assault, see W. Thorn, *Memoir of the Conquest of Java* (London: T. Egerton Military Library, 1815), p.181. On the local manufacture of gunpowder, and the sources of sulphur and saltpetre in Java at this time, see Raffles, *History of Java*, vol.I, pp.180-81 (quoting Mackenzie); and Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.275 n.166.
155. This refers to the main road which crosses Jalan Maliabara at the level of the Tugu (above n.69), one branch of which leads directly north-west to Magelang, the other north-east to Surakarta, see De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.IV, map; and NvB 22, B. Roux and B. Schalk, 'Le Kraton ou Le Palais du Sultan, où l'intérieur est inconnu à l'auteur de ce plan. Le circuit de la cour de D'Jokjo-carta dédiée à Monseigneur Nahuys, Résident de cette place', n.d. (c. 1822) *sub*: 'V'.
156. Gondhang (later the site of an important sugar factory) was a village just outside Klathèn on the main road between that place and Yogyakarta, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.267 n.125, p.268 n.130, and map. It was administered by Surakarta and was a point of some strategic importance at this time because of the wooden bridge there spanning the fast flowing Kali Gondhang, see further De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.IV, map.
157. On Pangéran Adisurya (who bore the title of Pangéran Ngabdulkim during the Java War) (born Yogyakarta c. 1800 - died Mt. Sirnabaya, Bagelèn, Dec. 1829), a younger brother of Dipanagara, see above n.98. Further details about him can be found in Dwidjosoegondo and Adisoetrisno, *Serat Dharah*, p.103 no.8; and Mandoyokusumo, *Serat Raja Putra*, p.31 no.13 (who states that he was a son of HB III by his unofficial wife, Bendara Radèn Ayu Puspawati). He appears to have been a devout Muslim and remained particularly close to his elder brother throughout the war.
158. See above Payen's entry for 15 August 1825 and n.147. The rumours

of Adinagara (Suryèng[a]laga's) death from wounds were later proved false.

159. This was the residence of the Yogya *Wedana Bandar* (Head of the tax-farms and tollgates in the Sultan's dominions), Kyai Tumenggung Reksanegara. It comprised an elegant teakwood *pendhapa* (pavilion) with intricate carvings attached to Reksanagara's residence and sugar-mill. The place, which was situated to the east of the Tugu on the Yogya-Sala highway close to the present-day junction of Jalan Sudirman and Jalan Dr. Sam Ratulangi, was often used for receiving visiting Governor-Generals and other high dignitaries (*i.a.* the Governors of Java's N.E. Coast), see Carey (ed.), *The British in Java, 1811-16*, ns. 400 and 499 of the *babad*; and NvB 22, Roux and Schalk, 'Le Kraton ou Le Palais du Sultan', *sub*: 'W'.
160. This is a revealing remark which highlights the degree of fear, incomprehension and disdain with which the Europeans viewed the Javanese-Islamic religious communities at this time: *santri* (lit.: 'students of religion'), *haji* (returned Mecca pilgrims), *ulama* (Muslim scholars, especially those learned in Islamic law [*fiqh*]), *wong mutihan* and *pradikan* (those living in areas set aside for religious schools and revered sites), and village 'priests' (*i.e.* *kaum*, *modin* etc) were all lumped together in the minds of contemporary Dutchmen in Indonesia as *dweeper's* (religious fanatics) who had been inspired by Dipanagara to wage a 'holy war' (*prang sabil*) against the unbelievers (*kafir*) and rid Java of the Europeans, see further Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.XLV-XLVI, pp.42-45, p.259 n.106; G.W.J. Drewes, 'Autobiografieën van Indonesiërs', *BKI*, vol.107 (Jubileum Nummer) (1951), p.235; and S. van Praag, *Onrust op Java. De Jeugd van Dipanegara. Een Historisch-Literaire Studie* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Keurboekerij N.V., 1947), p.15 (referring to the famous Dutch novelist, Multatuli's, view of Dipanagara as an '*armen dweeper*' [poor fanatic]). *Santri* at this time was clearly used as a term of abuse by the Europeans.
161. For a discussion of the month of *Sura*, the first month of the Javanese lunar year, as an auspicious time for the founding of new *kratons*, the renewal of established dynasties and the appearance of the Javanese 'Just King' (*Ratu Adil*), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.44-45. p.261 n.108. See also *Id.*, 'Cultural Ecology of Early Nineteenth Century Java', p.17 and *Babad Dipanagara*, p.LXXIII n.246, where Dipanagara's special admiration for Sultan Agung of Mataram (reigned. 1613-46) is discussed. In his own autobiographical *babad* (XII.44-47), Dipanagara referred to a prophecy of Sultan Agung that the Dutch would rule in Java for 300 years after his (Agung's) death in 1646 and that, although one of his descendants would rise against them, his fate was in the hands of the Almighty (*i.e.* he would be defeated), see Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', pp.30-31.
162. Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Hermanus, Adolph Kloosterhuis (born Venlo, 13 April 1788 - died ?) was an infantry officer who had fought in Europe under French colours during the Napoleonic Wars, and had been in Dutch military service in Indonesia since 1817. He

retired from the Dutch Indies army in 1836, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.356 n.2.

163. For a discussion of this acrimonious correspondence between Smis-saert and Chevallier, which largely revolved around the moneys which the former accused the latter of having borrowed from the Yogya trea-sury and various personal debts of the Assistant-Resident to his super-ior, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.304-305. Chevallier's replies (dated 19 August, 20 August and 5 September 1825) to Smis-saert's letters can be found in *Ibid.*, vol.I, Bijlage L-LII (Bijlage LII contains Chevallier's response to the Resident's menacing communication refer-red to here by Payen).
164. On this see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.304-5 and Bijlage L (Che-vallier to Smis-saert, 19 Aug. 1825). Smis-saert had apparently accused Chevallier of seeing that his own belongings had been brought to safety in the Yogya fort, whereas the Residency archives (*Gouvernements-papieren*) had been left in the Resident's office. Chevallier replied that at the very start of the war he had asked what Smis-saert's intentions were with regard to the transport of these archives, but had been told to leave them where they were in Smis-saert's office. On the Yogya archives at this time and the possibility that some documents (*i.a.* those referring to the administration of the postal service in Yogya) had been thrown into one of the canals in front of the Residency House by Che-vallier shortly after Dipanagara's flight from Tegalreja (20 July 1825), see P.B.R. Carey, 'The Residency Archive of Yogyakarta', *Indonesia* no.25 (April 1978), p.120 n.17.
165. This refers to the cutting of the 'great post road' (*groot postweg*) along the north-east coast by Dipanagara's forces in the early months of the war and the need to send all mail by sea from Semarang to Batavia. From 1825, the first steamship in Dutch service in Indonesia, the S.S. *Van der Capellen*, plied this route with occasional excursions to Sura-baya, see F.J.A. Broeze, 'The Merchant Fleet of Java, 1820-1850. A Preliminary Survey', *Archipel* 18 (1979), p.268; and De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.V, p.746 (which describes Dipanagara's journey from Sema-rang to Batavia on the *Van der Capellen* in early April 1830 during the first stage of his journey into exile).
166. The 'good faith' (*bonne volonté*) of the Surakarta court which Payen men-tions at his time is not confirmed in the other Javanese and Dutch sour-ces which all allude to the highly equivocal attitude of the Sunan of Surakarta, Pakubuwana VI (reigned, 1823-30), at the start of the war, his reluctance to send auxiliary troops to help the hard-pressed Dutch in Yoyakarta and the fact that only the timely arrival of General De Kock in Sala on 30 July prevented the complete defection of the Sunan's family to Dipanagara, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.292 n.241; Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.274-76, p.283; vol.III, pp.7-14; and below n.167.
167. Second Lieutenant (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Adrianus, Christoffel Schlosser (born Zwolle, 4 June 1802 - killed at Singkel [West Coast

- of Sumatra], 19 January 1841) had come out to Indonesia as a military cadet in 1818 and was at this time seconded from the 21st Infantry Battalion to train and command the Sunan of Surakarta's 'European' bodyguard and other troops (see also n.144 on [Von] Kriegenbergh above). It was this officer who had warned Resident MacGillavry of Surakarta that the Sunan (PB VI) had sent secret instructions to his commander in the field, Radèn Tumenggung Major Tirtadiwiria, that if Dipanagara's forces penetrated as far as Delanggu they should be allowed to pass unhindered to Surakarta, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.293 n.241 (quoting dK 183, MacGillavry to De Kock, 28 July 1825); and (for Schlosser's *stamboek*) Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.360 n.1. See further below Payen's entry for 8 September 1825.
168. Payen's original seems to read 'Tradok'. As there is no village by this name in Schoel (*Alphabetisch Register*) and it is known that Radèn Tumenggung Mertalaya (below n.169) was operating around Klathèn at this time, it seems likely that the village which was being referred to here was Trucuk, a *désa* in the Béji area just to the east of Klathèn, see Schoel, *op. cit.*, p.435.
169. Radèn Tumenggung Mertalaya was a grandson of Pangéran Ngabèhi (eldest surviving son of the first Sultan by an unofficial wife). He had served since 1795 as a *Bupati Wedana (Nayaka)* of the Yogya court and had been one of the Yogya commanders who had helped track down Radèn Rongga in December 1810. Since 1812, however, he had suffered from serious losses of landholding. He eventually submitted to the Dutch on 24 September 1829 at Yogyakarta, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.267 n.125; and dK 158, 'Lyst der Personen welke zich als Muitelingen Hebben Opgeworpen', 1829.
170. Marie, Philippe, Joseph, Julien, Comte Visart de Bocarmé (born Doornik [Tournai] 1787 - died Arkansas [U.S.A.] 1851), served as Inspector of Coffee Cultivation (*Koffiecultures*) in the Preanger Regencies (West Java) information courtesy of Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief (The Hague). According to Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.384, he had served as a senior official (*Gouverneur-Adjoint*) in Java from 1818 to 1826. He was one of Payen's friends from his days in Bandung.
171. On the way in which European contemporaries frequently associated the word 'fanatic' with the Javanese leaders against whom they were fighting, especially the members of the Javanese-Islamic religious communities and all those who showed signs of deep religious convictions, see above n.160. In nearly all of Smitsaert's letters during this period, the terms '*bijgelovig*' (superstitious) or '*dweepzuchtig*' (fanatical) are associated with Dipanagara's name, see MvK 4132 'Bijlagen Smitsaert', Smitsaert to MacGillavry, 18 July 1825; *Id.* to Governor-General, 19 July 1825; *Id.* to *Id.*, 20 July 1825; and see further, F.V.H.A. de Stuers, *Mémoires sur la Guerre de l'Ile de Java de 1825 à 1830* (Leyde: S. & J. Luchtmans, 1833), Plates of Kyai Maja and Dipanagara (where the former is described as '*un prêtre d'un esprit turbulent et fanatique*' and the latter as having been exiled in 1830 to Menado '*où son fanatisme n'est plus à craindre*'). In fact, according to most contemporary reports, Dipana-

gara remained at Selarong throughout this period and did not accompany his troops into battle, still less lead them. In later engagements during the war, he was reported to have always dressed 'like a priest' with a green (or white) turban and long tabard of the same colour, being ringed about by a 'priestly' bodyguard of 3-400 men all armed with lances, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, p.553 and above n.48. On the field of battle, Dipanagara usually remained at some distance from the actual fighting behind his bodyguard, his position being marked by two *pusaka* (heirloom) pikes which were carried everywhere with him and were always draped in white linen. Dipanagara was also adorned on these occasions with a silk *cindhé* scarf worn across his shoulder, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.III, p.62. The impression one gets from all these reports is that Dipanagara was regarded (and perhaps regarded himself) as a living '*jimat*' (magical presence) inspiring his troops in battle without having to participate directly himself, see further Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', p.32 (for a reference to the prince's title '*Sang Murtining Yuda*' [the Spirit of the War] which he bore before assuming that of 'Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erucakra etc' at Selarong on 15 August 1825). Even away from the battlefield, Dipanagara frequently held himself aloof from his followers and went on long periods of retreat, see further Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', p.24 ff.

172. On Gamping, see above n.125.
173. See above ns.105 and 171.
174. This was the meeting place for royal officials with duties outside the *kraton* on the north side of the great square (*alun-alun lor*) in front of the court.
175. See above n.123.
176. See above n.106. The *pusaka* (royal regalia) in question was probably not a *kris* but the heirloom pike, Kyai Ageng Plèrèd.
177. The psychological impact of killing Europeans and parading their heads on pikes (something which the Dutch and their Indonesian allies also did with slain enemy commanders), was apparently of great importance for Dipanagara's supporters, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.291 n.234; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.538. Smitsaert, who reported this incident of cavalry-sergeant (*brigadier*) Droestenburg's death to Pieter le Clercq (Resident of Kedhu), remarked that the hussar's blood was also drunk by his assailants (Dj.Br. 54, Smitsaert to Le Clercq, 23 Aug. 1825). For another report on this latter practice by Dipanagara's troops, see KITLV H 263, 'Verklaring van Paulus Daniel Portier, Opziener der Vogelnestklippen te Rongkob aan het Zuider Zeestrand, houdende een Verhaal Gedurende zijn Gevangenschap bij de Muiltelingen', n.d. (? Nov. 1826), p.9.
178. See above ns. 121 and 149.
179. The use of opium amongst Dipanagara's commanders and troops appears to have been very widespread and there are indications that the drug was used as a pain-killer to treat those suffering from battle wounds and disease. Most of the opium sold in Central Java was retai-

led at the local level by Chinese peddlers and even sizeable Chinese settlements like Jana in Bagelèn (below n.215) appear to have tried to keep on good terms with Dipanagara's supporters by trading with them (in fact, Dutch field commanders suspected that gunpowder, ammunition, firearms and small cannon were supplied to Dipanagara by the Chinese), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, pp.215-16; *Id.*, vol.III, p.444; Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.259-60 n.106; Aukes, *Het Legioen*, p.80 and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.263 (on Radèn Mas Suwongsa's report that most of the princes with Dipanagara at Selarong slept until nine or ten o'clock in the morning and some were addicted to opium); and below Payen's entry for 17 September 1825. For a useful discussion of the commerce in opium in nineteenth-century Java, see James Robert Rush, 'Opium Farms in Nineteenth Century Java. Institutional Continuity and Change in a Colonial Society, 1860-1910', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Yale University, 1977). On the widespread use of opium amongst the Indonesian troops fighting for the Dutch and the need for the authorities to dispense the drug to prevent their men 'falling sick', see Dj.Br.54, Smislaert to De Kock, 26 Sept. 1825.

180. This refers to the bodyguards of the *Bupati* of the Priangan (Preanger Regencies) who were gaudily accoutred and had largely ceremonial duties, see Radèn Saleh's (c. 1814-1880) famous 1857 portrait of the capture of Dipanagara at Magelang (now in the Musium Nasional, Jakarta) for a representation of some of these cavaliers (they are at the extreme left of the painting). On the Preanger Regencies (the main ones at this time were: Cianjur, Sumedang, Limbangan, Sukapura and Bandung), see Raffles, *History of Java*, vol.I, map; and T.J. Beze-mer (ed.), *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, p.437 sub: 'Prean-ger Regentschappen'. On the feckless nature of Pakualam's troops at this time, see above n.114.
181. This refers to the official birthday celebration of King William I of the Netherlands (reigned, 1813-1840). It was one of the gala occasions observed by Dutch officials and military officers in the Netherlands-Indies (Indonesia).
182. A reference to King William I of the Netherlands, see above n.181.
183. The complaints were levelled at Captain Kumsius (above n.60), who was subsequently dismissed from Dutch military service for professional incompetence in 1826.
184. Second Lieutenant (later Captain) Pieter de Gros (born Kortenen [Belgium], 13 October 1800 - died ?) was an infantry officer who had risen through the ranks and had been in military service in Indonesia since 1822. He later served in Belgium and became an Adjutant of Colonel Cleerens's (below n.232) elite corps of mounted riflemen known as the '*Jagers van Cleerens*'. His last posting was in the Dutch expeditionary force on the West Coast of Sumatra (1836-40). He retired from active military service in February 1840, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.357 n.3.

185. This is a village in the Sléman district on the road between Ngemplak and Pakem high on the slopes of Mt. Merapi some 15 kilometres to the north of Yogyakarta, see IOR X IX 3, K.F. Wilsen, 'Topographische Kaart der Residentie Djokjakarta', 1861.
186. See above n.62; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I. Maps VII and VIII, 'Situatie-Schets van Selarong en Omstreken'.
187. On the arrival of the three 'centre' companies of Sumenep troops in Semarang which were followed on 28 August 1825 by eleven companies of Madurese numbering some 1,474 men (mostly from Sampang, Bangkalan and Pamekasan), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp. 368-69. For an interesting account of the experiences of the Sampang and Pamekasan troops in Java during the war against Dipanagara, see W. Palmer van den Broek (ed.), 'Geschiedenis van het Vorstenhuis Madoera uit het Javaansch Vertaald', *TBG*, vol. 20 (1873), pp.241-301, pp.471-563; vol.22 (1875), pp.1-89, pp.280-310; vol.24 (1877), pp.1-169. Early in this chronicle, the Madurese author puts the following words into the mouth of Pangéran Pakualam I of Yogya: 'if the Sampang troops come to Yogya, then we will know that Dipanagara's revolt is a serious one, if not [then we can regard it] as unimportant' (Palmer van den Broek [ed.], 'Geschiedenis', *TBG*, vol.20 (1873), pp.489-90). On the role of the Sumenep troops in retaking Demak from Pangéran Sérang's supporters on 15 September 1825, see below n.235.
188. Sergeant (post-28 August 1825, Second Lieutenant) Jacob Ermatinger (born Puntjes Zogt [? Switzerland], 6 April 1800 - died Magelang, 28 May 1833), appears to have been of Swiss origin and had served in the Second Battalion of the 19th Infantry Division in Java since 1818. He was, very unusually, appointed as an officer without taking the officer's examination on 3 September 1825 on account of his exceptional courage and initiative at the time of the major Javanese attack on Yogyakarta on 24 August, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.308, p.308 n.1; and below n.240 (for his mention in dispatches and the gazetting of his appointment as an officer in the *Bataviasche Courant*). For a reference to another member of the Ermatinger family who was active in Java at this time, see F. de Haan, 'Personalia der Periode van het Engelsch Bestuur over Java 1811-1816', *BKI*, vol.92 (1935), p.543.
189. On the great scarcity of foodstuffs in Yogyakarta at his time, where, by 23 August 1825, a *pikul* (61.761 kgs) of rice, which usually sold for between f.4.00 - f.8.00, had reached the astonishing figure of f.60.00 (soon afterwards the price stood at f.2-300), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.287-88 n.221. This was due directly to Dipanagara's policy of trying to starve Yogyakarta into surrender by forbidding all rice brokers and petty traders (*bakul*) to sell their wares there, and forcing them instead to come to Kutha Gedhé which soon developed into the major market centre for the region, see above n.124. Just by way of comparison, a local Javanese source (ML 97, Radèn Adipati Jayadiningrat, 'Schetsen over de Oorlog van Java, 1825-30' [ed. J. Hageman Jcz.], p.717), noted that a measure (? *kati* - 0.617 kg) of rice, which outside

Yogya cost a mere 50 *duiten* (62.50 cents), within the town sold for 25 *pérak* (silver guilders) and was even exchanged for gold *kris* sheath covers (*pendhok emas*), see further Payen's entry for 14 September 1825. The usual price of a full-grown chicken in the Yogya market (on the basis of prices quoted in the *Algemeen Verslagen* for 1830-49) varied from 0.15 - 0.40 cents. By late August 1825, the price for this commodity had thus increased by between three and seven times the normal. For a survey of rice prices in Yogya between 1804 and 1826, see Carey, 'Pangéran Dipanagara and the Making of the Java War (1825-30): The End of an Old Order in Java', *VKI* (forthcoming), Appendix X: 'Rice Prices in Yogyakarta (1804-26) and Throughout Java (1817-25)'. On the extreme selfishness of Smissaert at this time and his refusal to release a whole warehouse full of rice which he owned, see below n.210.

190. Major (later Lieutenant-) General Joseph, Jacobus Baron van Geen (born Gent, 1 September 1775 - died the Netherlands, 1846) had seen active service in Europe since the age of sixteen as a volunteer in a Belgian infantry regiment and had later risen to the rank of Colonel in Napoleon's armies fighting in the Netherlands against the British, and in Germany and Spain. After his transfer to the Dutch army in 1814, he was appointed Major-General (21 April 1815) and served as commander of the Utrecht garrison (1815-1819). Chosen for service in Indonesia (1819), he arrived in Batavia on 9 August 1820 and was gazetted as commander of the Dutch-Indies infantry and cavalry five days later. In 1824-25, he was First Commissioner and Military Commander of the Dutch expeditionary force against the South Sulawesi kingdoms of Bone, Suppa and Tanete from whence he was recalled urgently in August 1825 to defend Semarang and reinforce the Dutch army in Central Java. Later in that year (31 Dec. 1825), he was made provisional commander of the Netherlands-Indies army and was appointed Lieutenant-General in December 1826. In June 1828, he returned to the Netherlands for good, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.334 n.1; and Bezemer (ed.), *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, p.162 sub: 'Geen'. According to Cruyplants (*Histoire*, pp.120-22), Van Geen was a very energetic officer who was able to elicit the love of his troops at the same time as demanding the best from them. Coming himself from a humble background, he managed to combine the bluntness of character and soldierly good nature (*bonhomie soldatesque*) which appealed to the rank and file. Amongst the Javanese, however, he gained an unenviable reputation for his ruthlessness and brutality.

191. Major (post-31 Dec. 1825, Lieutenant-Colonel) Edouard, Marie de Bast (born Gent, 23 November 1789 - died Semarang, 5 February 1827) had served as an officer in the French Army since 1807 and had transferred to Dutch military service in 1814. He fought under the Prince of Orange (later King William II of the Netherlands, reigned, 1840-49) at Waterloo (1815) and took part in the occupation of France (1815-17). In 1818, he was seconded to the Dutch army in Surinam and served

there from 1819 to 1822. In the latter year he was ordered out to Indonesia where he arrived on 28 April 1823. At the time of the outbreak of the Java War, he was a senior infantry officer in the 19th Infantry Division (*Afdeling*) of the Dutch army in Semarang, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.330 n.2; and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.122, p.208 n.1. Like his superior, Colonel J.B. Cleerens (below n.232), he wrote many of his military dispatches during the Java War in French.

192. This refers to the strong Dutch Expeditionary Force which had been sent to Pontianak (Borneo) under Major Bernard Sollewijn (below n.270) to deal with the rebellious Chinese settlers at Mampawah, Montrado (in the Sambas district) and Mandor. It had been hastily recalled in August 1825 to reinforce the Dutch army in Central Java, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.368-69; and Sartono Kartodirdjo (ed.), *Laporan Politik Tahun 1837* (Djakarta: Penerbitan Sumber-Sumber Sedjarah Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia No.4, 1971), pp.134-36.

193. See above n.189. The usual daily calory intake of rice for an adult man was about 600 grams. A Chinese teacup full of rice probably contained not much more than 150 grams.

194. See above n.189.

195. A nice, ironic reference to the incompetent Smissaert, Resident of Yogyakarta (1823-25), see above n.9. The original of this letter can be found in Dj.Br.54, 'Minuut Afgaande Stukken, 1825'.

196. 6 August 1825.

'It is with deep regret that I have to inform Your Honour that the Sultan's retainers [i.e. *abdi-Dalem*] have nearly all run away so that there are now very few people left to guard the *kraton*, and we [ourselves], lacking sufficient troops, are not in a position to set a watch over it. 'Yesterday, thirty «priests» [i.e. members of the Suryagama and Suranatan regiments] deserted at the same time and of the [Sultan's] body-guard troops [*prajurit*] few now remain. Without speedy assistance the *kraton* will fall into the hands of the enemy and apparently the young Sultan [Hamengkubuwana V] together with the Ratu Agung and Tumenggung Major Wiranagara are the only ones who still show us [any] loyalty. [But] perhaps we will even be betrayed from that quarter and the Ratu Agung and Wiranagara will take the young Sultan with them and make overtures to the enemy princes [i.e. Dipanagara and Mangkubumi].

'In that case we will have no one else to stand by us: we will have to shut ourselves up in the fort, watch the European and Chinese quarters [*kampung*] go up in flames, and, without being able to prevent it or lend assistance, see the inhabitants of both *kampungs* murdered, [whereas] we [ourselves] will perish from hunger in the fort! What a dreadful prospect!

'Be so good as to communicate the contents of this letter to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor [De Kock] in the event that my letter, being sent to His Excellency at Klathèn, does not arrive safely.

'Yesterday, the Tumenggung [Ranadiningrat] who was on guard duty at the [Witte] Paal [i.e. Tugu] was attacked by a group of bandits [i.e.

Dipanaganara's supporters] and was wounded in the [left] arm by a musket shot, whereas one of his followers received a ball in the leg. It is the big day [i.e. *wedalan*] of the Old Sultan [Sultan Sepuh] who is presently at Surabaya.

'To the Honourable Resident of Kedhu.'

197. This refers to the 35-day birthday celebration (*wedalan*; the Javanese combination of the seven-day and five-day market [*pasar*] weeks) of the exiled Sultan Hamengkubuwana II, known as Sultan 'Sepuh' (the 'Old' Sultan). According to Mandoyokusumo (*Serat Raja Putra*, p.17), he had been born on the eve of Saturday Legi (*Malem Setu Legi*) 28 Rabingulawal, Alip, A.J. 1675 (7 March 1750). Banished to Pulau Pinang by the British for his bellicose attitude towards the European Government (which had precipitated the British attack on the Yogya *kraton* in June 1812), he had been allowed to return to Batavia in April 1815 only to be exiled again (to Ambon) by the restored Dutch Government in 1817. In 1824, the Dutch had brought him back to Java where he was kept on a warship in the harbour of Surabaya. There he had been joined by some of his wives and close family relations and had acted as a slightly unwelcome focus of political attention at the Yogya court. Fearing that Dipanaganara's forces might make a breakthrough in East Java, the Resident of Surabaya (Mr. B.H.A. Besier) had told the Government that he could no longer accept responsibility for him, so the Old Sultan was moved in mid-August to Batavia where he was again kept prisoner on board a warship anchored in Batavia Bay. As a desperate ploy on the part of the Dutch to strengthen their hand during the worst period of the Java War, he was restored to the Yogya throne on 17 August 1826 and took possession of the *kraton* again on 21 September 1826. But the move brought to the Dutch few tangible benefits: the Old Sultan had by then lost much of his energy, he was feared by most of the Yogya princes who had remained loyal to the Government and was resolutely ignored by Dipanaganara's own supporters (despite his appeals, written at Dutch instigation, that they should give themselves up). His death two years later (17 January 1828) was thus mourned by few and the military situation in the environs of Yogya remained so grave that he could not even be buried properly in the royal graveyard at Imagiri, his body being interred at Kutha Gedhé instead, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.410-35, pp.425-26; vol.III, p.531 ff.; and Carey (ed.). *The British in Java 1811-16*, n.201 of the *babad*.
198. I have been unable to find any trace of this proclamation by Smissaert in the Yogya Residency archive, but there is a Dutch translation of a proclamation issued in the name of the child Sultan (Hamengkubuwana V) stating that certain sums would be paid for those of his subjects who turned in Dipanaganara's supporters to the authorities in Yogya. The sums promised were: f.25 for an ordinary '*brandhal*' (above n.93), f.100 for a petty chief (village head or *Bekel*), f.500 for a senior official (*Demang* or *Mantri Désa*), f.1,000 for a *Bupati*, see KITLV H 699, 'Archief van Yogya' (Rouffaer notes), p.35, 'Bekendmaking', 1

Sura, Wawu, A.J. 1755 (Tuesday, 16 August 1825); and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, p.283 n.1. Smislaert's proclamation is probably contemporaneous with this.

199. 'Already you have experienced the power of our weapons, witness the many misfortunes which have befallen you: our powder and lead are not transformed into water [by *jimat*] as you have been made to believe by your stupid priests, most of whom can neither read nor write much less understand the religion of Muḥammad – underminers of your happiness, disturbers of your peace and domestic felicity, well versed as they are in the arts of duplicity and enrichment at the expense of good-natured and gullible people like yourselves'.
200. On the widespread use of charms and amulets (*jimat*), which were thought to bestow invulnerability, amongst Dipanagara's supporters, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.276 n.168. On the commonly held belief in many societies from Oceania to Brazil that such talismans had the power to turn bullets to water, see Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion. Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), p.151-52. See also W.W. Skeat, *Malay Magic. An Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsular* (London: Frank Cass & Co, 1965), pp.522-24.
201. 'All who wish to come here [to submit] must present themselves unarmed to the prime minister [*Patih*], and, as a sign of their good and peaceful intention, should bring with them some firewood, grass or other small trifles, products of their field[s]...'
202. 'You know me, never have I engaged in extortion or maltreatment during [the whole of] my twenty-four year stay in this island [of Java], but have always championed your interests. I desire only the restoration of your previous tranquillity. If you have been wronged, bring your burdens to me [and] I will give you your due! Pay attention to my well-meant, fatherly admonitions! Return once again to the cultivation of your fields etc....'.
203. i.e. the letter of Smislaert to Pieter le Clercq (Resident of Kedhu), dated 6 August 1825 and Smislaert's proclamation to Dipanagara's supporters probably issued in mid-August.
204. See above Payen's entry for 22 August 1825.
205. 'Tomorrow [24 August 1825] we are celebrating the birthday of His Majesty the King [William I of the Netherlands; reigned, 1813-40]. Daily we have to give sustenance to at least 80 people, because, most of the officers, both those of our own troops as well as those of the Emperor [Sunan Pakubuwana VI] and Prince Mangkunegara [II], eat with us, being themselves unable to buy anything [in town]. In addition, we have accomodated the royal family [of Yogyakarta] who have nothing for their daily consumption. Thus Your Honour can [well] imagine that our household [expenses] are very great and that we cannot maintain them for very much longer'.
206. First Lieutenant Hermanus, Albertus de Vos van Steenberg (born the Netherlands, 1798 - died Indonesia [?], post-1840) MWO, an

infantry officer in the 19th Infantry Division stationed in Central Java (Semarang), had served in Indonesia since 1817. He had come to Yogya with Lieutenant-Colonel Achenbach's (above n.137) relief column from Klathèn on 19 August 1825. There is no regimental roll (*stamboek*) for him in the Ministry of the Colonies archive, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.357, p.357 n.2; vol.II, p.201. I am grateful to Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief for this biographical information.

207. Second Lieutenant Le Clercq was another infantry officer who had probably come to Yogyakarta from Klathèn with Lieutenant-Colonel Achenbach's relief column on 19 August 1825 (above n.135). There is apparently no regimental roll or service record (*stamboek*) available for him in the Ministry of the Colonies archive (see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.357, p.357 n.2), but there is a possibility that he might have been a relation (? a son) of the Resident of Kedhu, Pieter le Clercq (in office, 1821-25), see above n.139. There was also another man of the same name, Lieutenant (later Major-General) Johannes, Henricus, Willem le Clercq (born Amsterdam, 5 Feb. 1809 - died 's Gravenhage, 9 Dec. 1885), who later became an amateur artist, studying under the French painter Ernest Hardouin (1820-54) in Batavia and basing some of his watercolours on Payen's lithographed drawings in C.L. Blume's four volume *Rumphia* (Leiden and Amsterdam: C.G. Sulcke, 1835-49), see De Loos-Haaxman, *Verlaat Rapport Indië*, p.24; and Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p.135 n.200, p.176 n.511, p.319. However, since the latter was only fifteen years old at the time of the outbreak of the Java War, he is unlikely to have been the person referred to here. Another namesake, Captain (later Major) Lambertus le Clercq (born Warmond, 8 May 1789 - died Makasar, 13 March 1828), only came out to Indonesia with the Dutch Expeditionary Force (*Expeditionnaire Afdeeling*) in December 1826, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.III, p.93 n.1.
208. In his original text Payen seems to have written 'Gauw', but this probably refers to Lieutenant Karel, Frederik Gaum (born Germany [?], 1797 - died ?) who had come out to Indonesia in 1819. He was probably an infantry officer in the 19th Infantry Division stationed in Central Java (Semarang) and had come to Yogya with Lieutenant-Colonel Achenbach's relief column on 19 August 1825 (above n.135). He left Indonesia in 1827. Information courtesy of Mej. drs. F. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief.
209. A.J. Ghislain was the Residency Surgeon (*Plaatselijk Heelmeester*) in Yogyakarta, see Dj.Br.67, 'Aankomende Stukken 2e kwartier 1824', Ghislain to Smislaert, 2 June 1824.
210. On Smislaert's highly complex financial dealings and the large sums (including f.1,000 for 11,336 kgs. of rice and two sheep used to feed the Yogya garrison, and f.3,000 for the costs of entertaining the officers of the Mangkunagaran and Kasunanan troops at his table) which he later claimed from the Government, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.277 n.1. Apparently throughout this period (late August and September 1825) of desperate hunger in Yogya, Smislaert still had at his

- disposal a warehouse full of *padi* (unhusked rice), some of which he used, *à contre cœur*, to feed the garrison in September, but of which some 4,916 *ponden* (1 *pond* = 453.6 grams) still remained over when De Kock reached Yogyakarta on 25 September 1825, see Louw, *loc.cit.*
211. This was obviously Lieutenant Pieter Wieseeman, the commander of the Sultan's 'European' bodyguard, see above n.30.
 212. Blimbing is a village in the Sélaarja district some way to the south of Imagiri on the borders of the present-day *kabupatèn* of Bantul and Gunung Kidul close to the left-bank of the Kali Opak, see Dinas Topografi, Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 'Peta Kabupaten Sleman dan Bantul' (1971). The name of the latter village used as a *rendez-vous* point by the Surakarta troops has been omitted by Payen, but was probably close to Blimbing.
 213. Imagiri (from the Skt. '*hima*' = snow, hoar-frost; and Skt. '*giri*' = mountain) was the graveyard of the rulers of Mataram which lies on a hill to the left of the Opak river about midway between Yogyakarta and the South Coast in the present-day district of Bantul. It was begun by Sultan Agung (reigned, 1613-46), whose grave stands at the top of the hill. Below and on both sides of the stairway lie the graves of most of his successors and many other members of the royal houses of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. At the foot of the stairway, about 230 feet below the summit stands the mosque of (Pa)Jimatan (so called because it served the 'key keepers' [*jimat*] of the royal graves). The whole complex, like Kutha Gedhé (above n.137), was administered jointly by Surakarta and Yogyakarta and is one of the most powerful holy sites in Central Java. During the Java War, it was frequently disputed between Dipanagara's troops and the Dutch and Javanese forces opposing them. Later a fortified position (*bèntèng*) was built at Potrabayan on the Opak river to guard the place (above n.147), but there are indications that even during the fighting Dipanagara often visited it, especially at the time when he celebrated the thrice-yearly *Garebeg* ceremonies. His official wife, Ratu Kedhaton (a daughter of Radèn Rongga Prawiradirja III of Madiun), was buried there in February 1828, see Rusche (ed.), *Serat Babad Dipanagara*, vol.II, p.17.
 214. As part of his strategy for starving Yogyakarta into surrender, Dipanagara ordered his troops to cut the main water channel (*bendungan*) in early September which supplied water to the Residency House, the fort and the Mesjid Agung, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.301. On this water supply, which came from a dam in the Kali Codé at the village of Karanggayam in the Condhongcatur district some four kilometres to the north of Yogyakarta, see *Kota Jogjakarta 200 tahun*, p.27; and Payen's entry for 11 September 1825.
 215. Jana was a very sizeable Chinese settlement on the Kali Lèrèng some three kilometres to the north of Linggis in eastern Bagelèn, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, pp.215-16, pp.333-34; vol.III, p.86, pp.108-9. When it was eventually evacuated by the Dutch in May 1827, there were some 147 adult Chinese living there along with 138 (? *peranakan*) Chinese women and 185 children. Situated in the apanage of the erst-

while *Kapitan Cina* of Yogya, Tan Jin Sing (post-Dec. 1813, Radèn Tumenggung Secadiningrat), it appears to have been important as a weaving centre (much raw cotton [*kapas*] was grown in surrounding areas) and as a tollgate on the Lèrèng river. At the start of the war, the Chinese apparently constructed their own fortified position (*bèn-tèng*) where they held out for a time against Dipanagara's forces, but later there were suspicions that some of the merchants were trading in arms, ammunition, gunpowder and opium with the prince's followers, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, pp.215-16; *Bataviasche Courant* no.41 (12 Oct. 1825), pp.1-2 and above n.179. On the troubles experienced by the Chinese communities in Jana and Wedhi (a neighbouring weaving settlement) in 1822 at the time of Pangéran Dipasana's revolt, see H.G. Baron Nahuys van Burgst, *Herinneringen uit het Openbare en Bijzondere Leven (1799-1858) van Mr. H. G. Baron Nahuys van Burgst* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Gebroeders Muller, 1858), pp.127-28.

216. See above ns.13 and 112.

217. These were probably small, brass half-pounder cannon, known in Javanese as *klantaka* or *kalantaka*, which were cast by the Javanese themselves, see Gericke and Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, vol.I, p.485; and Raffles, *History of Java*, vol.I, p.296. Cannon of much larger calibre were cast at Kutha Gedhé or imported from the Chinese and Arab run armaments foundries at Gresik on the north-east coast, see NvB 3 pt.1, W.H. van IJsseldijk (Resident of Yogyakarta) to A. Schwenke (Gezaghebber of Gresik), 10 Dec. 1792; *Id. to Id.*, 22 Jan. 1793 (for references to purchases of cannon and ammunition by the second Sultan from Gresik); and J.J. Stockdale, *Sketches Civil and Military of the Island of Java* (2nd rev. ed. London: J.J. Stockdale, 1812), p.383, p.387 (on the saltpetre and gunpowder manufacturies of Gresik and Surabaya in the early 19th century).

218. It is possible that Dipanagara had a small *pusaka* cannon with him at Selarong, but I have found no mention of this in other reports. The *predikant* Jan Frederik Gerrit Brumund (born Amsterdam, 1814 - died Malang, 1863), who visited Dipanagara's abandoned *dalem* at Tegalreja in the late 1840's, mentioned an interesting tale which he had probably been told by some of the prince's erstwhile supporters. This related that when, during the war, Dipanagara lost some of his cannon in an engagement with the Dutch troops, he ordered his followers to fell coconut palm trees, had the trunks covered with white linen and spoke a prayer over them. When the white linen was subsequently removed, the palm trunks were found to have been transformed into cannon of the finest metal! See J.F.G. Brumund, 'Bezoek in den Vervalen Dalem van Dipo Negoro te Tegal Rejo', *Indiana: Verzameling van Stukken van Onderscheiden Aard, over Landen, Volken, Oudheden, en Geschiedenis van den Indischen Archipel*, 2 vols in one binding (Amsterdam: H.A.G. Brumund, 1853-54), p.191. *Cindhé*, a beautifully patterned fine silk material (apparently copied from the markings of the highly poisonous *ular cindhé*), is often used in Java to cover *pusaka* (heirlooms) or objects of special reverence, see further above n.171.

219. See further above n.64. White flags were not necessarily a sign of neutrality. In fact the colours white, red, yellow and black (or dark purplish indigo), which all had cosmological significance for the Javanese, were amongst the most common hues used for flags and pennants by Dipanagara's troops and supporters during the Java War, see further above n.64.
220. See above n.189.
221. On the possible collusion between Dipanagara's forces and the troops of the Sunan of Surakarta (PB VI) in the early stages of the war, see above n.166.
222. See above n.146.
223. The famous Javanese artist (of partly Arab extraction), Radèn Saleh Syarif Bustaman (born Torbaya [near Semarang], c. 1814 - died Bogor, 23 April 1880), was a pupil of Payen, who had arranged for him to come to West Java in c. 1822 where he studied at Resident R.L.J. van der Capellen's *hoofdenschool* (school for native chiefs) at Cianjur later became an apprentice writer (*magang*) at the Resident's office (*kantor*) living in one of the wings of the Residency House, see Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p.330-31; De Loos-Haxman, *Verlaat Rapport Indië*, p.54 ff.; Peter B.R. Carey, 'Raden Saleh, Dipanagara and the Painting of the Capture of Dipanagara at Magelang (28 March 1830)', *JMBRAS*, vol.LV pt.1 (1982), p.2 n.7; Baharudin Marasutan, *Raden Saleh 1807-1880. Perintis Seni Lukis di Indonesia. The Precursor of Painting in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian, 1973), p.9 ff.; Harsja Bachtiar, 'Raden Saleh: Aristocrat, Painter and Scientist', in A. Day and A. Lapien (eds.), *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference held at Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands, 19 to 22 May 1976* (Leiden and Jakarta: Bureau of Indonesian Studies, 1978), pp.46-47; and above n.146. It was to Payen and his colleague on the Reinwardt Commission, Jannes Theodoor Bik (born Amsterdam, 1796 - died Bogor, 1875), that the gifted young Saleh owed his first instruction in painting and line drawing. See further below n.239.
224. See above n.214.
225. See above n.214; and (on the sortie on 11 September to re-establish the Kali Codé water supply), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.356.
226. Jenu was a staging post of the Yogya-Prambanan road close to the present-day village of Ambarrukmo commanding the vital crossing point over the Kali Gajahwong, see SB 135 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol.I), LXXI.6-9, pp.288-89.
227. For a very full description of his uprising in the areas around Semarang in late August and early September 1825 which was led by Pangéran Sérang (alias Pangéran Sumawijaya), a distant descendant of the great apostle of Islam (*wali*) in Central Java, Sunan Kalijaga, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.361-93; and Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.284 n.205.
228. Captain Johannes, Gregorius de Lassasie (born Gent, 27 June 1787

- died ?) had been in French service (as a National Guard officer) during the Napoleonic Wars and had transferred to the Dutch army in 1815 where he had duties as a uniform supply officer. He had served in Indonesia since 1821 and distinguished himself in the fighting during the Java War. He retired from military service in December 1836, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.295 n.4; vol.III, p.473 n.2; and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.87. At the time of the outbreak of the Java War, he had been sent to Semarang with some officers and men of the 1st Battalion of the 20th Infantry Division previously stationed at Surabaya. Arriving there on 5 August 1825, he had subsequently (28 August) been dispatched to Demak to hold the town against Pangéran Sérang's forces and was reinforced there by Captain Buschkens (below n.229) on 1 September, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I., p.371-73.
229. On the terrible defeat suffered by Captain H.F. Buschkens's force at the hands of Pangéran Sérang's troops on the road between Gamba and Dempèt in the Demak-Purwadadi area on 3 September 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.373-81. Closely followed by Sérang's supporters, Buschkens's men had apparently panicked, and, in the ensuing *mêlée*, ten European members of the Semarang citizens' militia (*schutterij*), including seven British representatives of trading firms in Semarang, had been killed along with two Armenians (also Semarang-based merchants) and two Dutch *opzieners* (estate overseers). The bodies of the slain had been grievously mutilated by Sérang's men and the whole incident had caused great panic amongst the European inhabitants in Semarang. It was partly because of this terror that Salèh's relative, Kyai Adipati Suraadimanggala, the pensioned *Bupati* of Torbaya (Semarang), a highly cultivated and respected man, who had previously collaborated with Raffles, fell under suspicion and was detained by the Dutch along with his eldest son, see below 239.
230. This is a small river which flows just to the west of Yogya in a north-south direction. There is a ford across the river near the village of Tompéyan just in front of Dipanagara's estate at Tegalreja, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, 'Platte Grond van den Hoofdplaats Jogjakarta Omstreeks 1830'.
231. This was the village of Tompéyan which bordered Dipanagara's estate at Tegalreja and where many of his estate workers (*magersari*) lived, see above n.47 and 230.
232. Colonel (later titular Major-General) Johannes (Jan), Baptist Cleerens (born Antwerp, 27 Aug. 1785 - died Ambon, 1850), a Fleming, had served with distinction as an administrative officer in Napoleon's armies in Spain (1808-13) and had returned to the Netherlands in 1814. He fought with the Prussians at Waterloo (1815) and was for a time a supply officer in Marshal Blücher's army. He transferred to the Dutch army in 1816 and had served in Indonesia since 1817, becoming a Lieutenant-Colonel and *aide-de-camp* to the Governor-General, G.A.G. van der Capellen. When the Java War broke out he was commandant at Bogor (Buitenzorg), but was soon sent to Central Java and

saw almost continuous service against Dipanagara's troops for the next five years, mainly in Banyumas, Bagelèn and Kedhu (where he commanded various mobile columns). He was in charge of the first negotiations with Dipanagara at Réma Kamal in the Menorèh mountains in late February 1830 which ultimately led to Dipanagara's agreement to come to Magelang to meet De Kock (8 - 28 March). An undertaking, which Cleerens had supposedly given Dipanagara at Réma Kamal that he would be allowed to return to Bagelèn if the negotiations with De Kock were not to his liking, later prompted the prince to write to Cleerens from exile in Makasar reminding him of his promise. But the letter was immediately intercepted by the Dutch authorities and strong steps taken against Dipanagara. By this time Cleerens had formed his own elite corps of mounted riflemen known as the '*Jagers van Cleerens*' (1832), had been appointed as a titular Major-General (27 May 1835) and had become supreme commander of the Dutch forces fighting the *Padris* on the West Coast of Sumatra (Feb. 1836 - May 1837). His precipitate dismissal from that command (31 May 1837) and his pension from active service (with the rank of Colonel) on 31 October 1837 may have possibly been due to Dipanagara's unwelcome communication with him, but I have been unable to find any confirmation of this in the archives. In 1846, he became Governor of the Moluccas and died in post in Ambon in 1850, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.326 n.1; Bezemer (ed.), *Beknopte Encyclopaedie*, p.108; and Carey, 'Raden Saleh', pp.7-8. Some of Cleerens's memoirs from his military career in Europe and Indonesia and his relations with Dipanagara are mentioned by the famous Dutch writer, Multatuli (pseud. Eduard Douwes Dekker, 1820-87) in his *Ideëen*, vol.VI, p.286 ff. (see also Van Praag, *Onrust op Java*, pp.12-15 and above n.160). The latter had made Cleerens's acquaintance at the Governor of the Moluccas's mansion at Batu Gajah above Ambon in 1849-50 during the last year of Cleerens's life when Multatuli was serving as a colonial official in Menado. The dispatches written by Cleerens to De Kock (amounting to over 400 letters covering the period 10 Oct. 1825 - 8 April 1830) also constitute one of the most important sources for the military developments in the western areas of the principalities during the Java War, see dK 48-49 in *Verslagen omtrent 's-Rijks Oude Archieven* ('s-Gravenhage, 1905), p.62; and above n.191 for a reference to the language of Cleerens's dispatches.

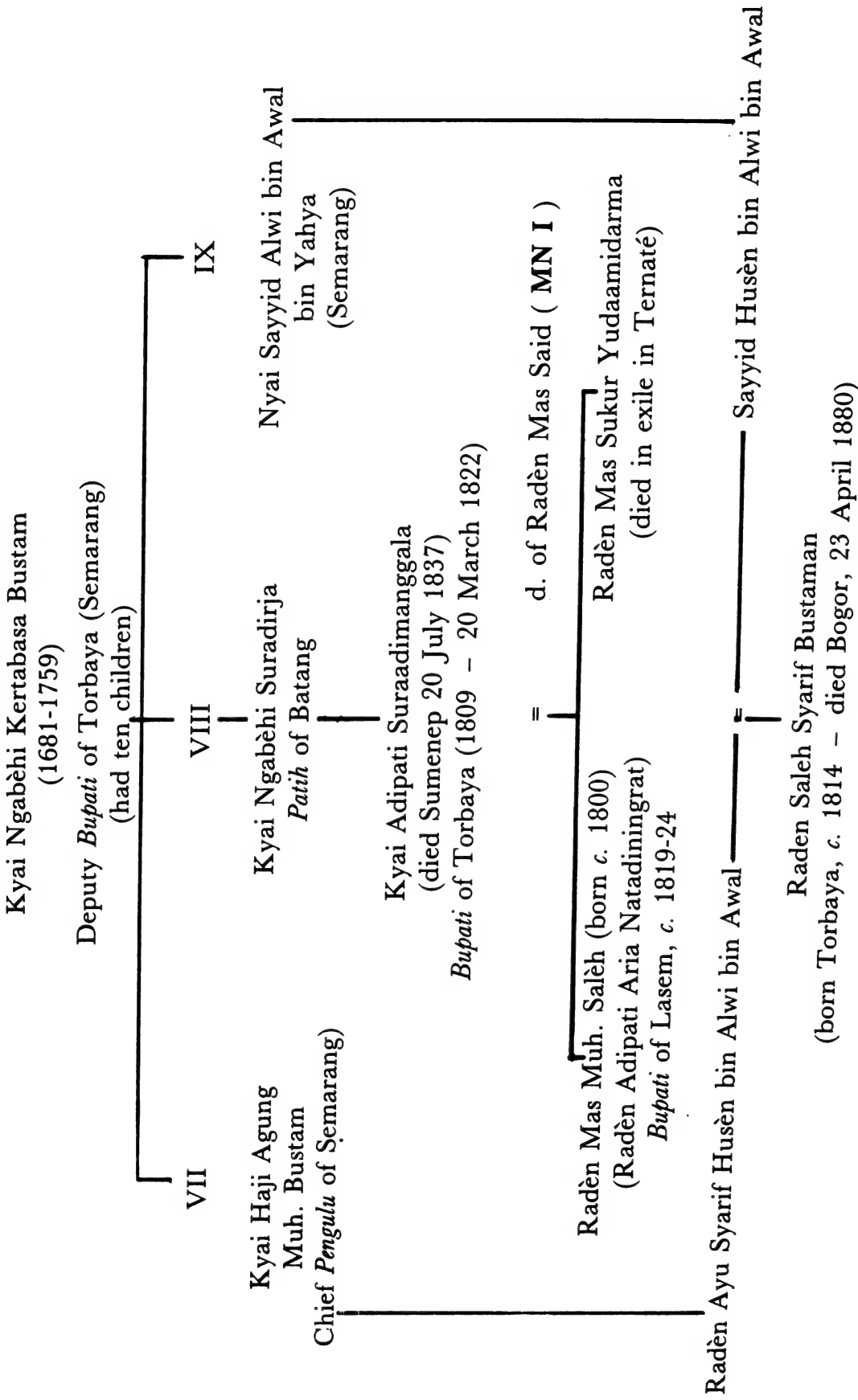
233. Cavalry Captain (*Ritmeester*) Otto, Carel Holmberg de Beckfeld (also spelt: 'Hollenberg de Beckfeld') (born Kuilenburg, 19 July 1794 - died ?) had been a page of King Louis (Lodewijk) of Holland (Louis Bonaparte) (reigned, 1806-10) and (post-July 1810) of Napoleon. He took part in the latter's Russian campaign (1812) and was subsequently taken prisoner by the Russians at the battle of Leipzig (19 Oct. 1813). On his release, he went over to Dutch service and was placed with the regiment of East Indies Hussars (22 Oct. 1814) becoming a Captain (*Ritmester*) in 1816 and serving in Indonesia from 1817. He was honourably discharged from active military duties in April 1822 and transferred to the Dutch civil administration. At the time of the out

- break of the Java War, he was Assistant-Resident of Kendhal on the north-east coast, but apparently drew on his previous military training to participate actively with the Dutch mobile columns during the opening months of the fighting, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.318 n.2.
234. Jabarangkah (lit: 'the province lying outside [*jaba*] the main tollgates [*rangkah*] of the kingdom of Mataram') was a province ruled jointly by the two courts (of Sala and Yogya). Because of its strategic location straddling the main highway (*postweg*) along the northeast coast between the Residencies of Pekalongan, Kedhu and Semarang, it was annexed by the European Government in February 1825 and incorporated into the latter areas, see Van der Kemp, 'Economische Oorzaken', pp.38-39; and, on its original location, see De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.VI, 'Kaart der Vorsten Landen op het Eiland Java' (1830). On the fighting in the area in August and September 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.340-60 and above n.140.
235. On the arrival of the Panembahan (post-1825, Sultan) of Sumenep, Natakusuma, with 1,534 pikemen (of whom 146 were armed with flintlocks) on 7 September 1825 and the retaking of Demak from Pangéran Sérang's forces by a mixed Dutch-Madurese expedition commanded by Major-General Van Geen, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.382, p.387 ff. In fact, Demak did not fall to the latter until 15 September, so that Payen, perhaps on the basis of inflated reports reaching Yogya at this time, has anticipated the event by two days. On the Madurese auxiliary troops, see further above n.187 and below n.255. The character of the Panembahan of Sumenep, one of the most loyal allies of the Dutch and a man of great knowledge and intelligence, is discussed in J. van Goor, 'Salt and Soldiers: Madura and the Dutch in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', in Day and Lapien, *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference*, pp.193-94; and Raffles, *History of Java*, vol.I, p.272 n.
236. On this expedition undertaken by the Assistant-Resident of Salatiga, Philippus, Hermanus van Reede van Oudtshoorn (born Cape Town, c.1790 - died Madura, 1832), and the well-known Franco-Salanese landowner, J.A. ('Tinus') Dezentjé (born Surakarta, 1796 - died Ampèl, c.1860) on 3-4 September 1825 which led to the arrest of the *Bupati* of Gagatan at his *dalem* (residence) at Karanggedhé, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.383-84. There is no mention in Van Reede van Oudtshoorn's report of any cannon having been captured, but if there were small guns defending the *Bupati*'s residence they are likely to have been Javanese-cast *klantaka*, see above n.217.
237. On the way in which the Yogya Resident, Smissaert, made money at this time out of advancing money, on the security of pawned goods, to needy Chinese and Europeans, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.277 n.1; and above ns. 189 and 210. For a list of the debts and goods left in pawn to various officials and European inhabitants in Yogya by members of the Yogya *kraton*, see MvK 4132, 'Bijlage Smissaert', 'Lists of Debts of Yogya Citizens', 5 Oct. 1825. These latter mostly

related to the moneys borrowed by and owing to HB V's major-domo, Mas Ngabèhi Ratawijaya (above n.109), but the latter had also borrowed money and pawned goods at one and a half per cent monthly interest to Chevallier (5 diamond rings worth f.2,600 and 2 Chinese ear-rings with diamonds worth f.700), to Lt. Wieseman (2 diamond rings to the value of f.100), to the widow of ex-Lt. W.F. Schalk (one belt of jewels, 2 gold *sirih* pots, 3 diamond rings and 1 small gold *sirih* pot for f.200 in paper money and f.700 in silver guilders). Such money-lending practices at very high monthly interest rates was one of the ways in which the Indo-European communities in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta made a living at this time. The Dutch official, J.I. van Sevenhoven, on a visit to the courts in 1812, described them as 'not nice at all' (*niet kies*), see KITLV H 503, J.I. Van Sevenhoven, 'Aanteekeningen', p.46; Dj.Br.54, Smissaert to De Kock, 26 Sept.1825 (on the fortunes made by European and Chinese inhabitants of Yogya from lending money on the security of pawned articles); and above n.122.

238. On Dipanagara and his principal commanders' insistence that captured European prisoners should be dressed in Javanese clothes and converse with them in Javanese (preferably *krama*, i.e. 'High' Javanese) rather than Malay, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.XLVI, p.LXXIII n.145. The report of the captured Indo-European overseer of the birds' nest rocks at Rongkob on the South Coast, Paulus Daniel Portier, gives a fascinating insight into this practice, which was inspired by Dipanagara's desire to emphasise Javanese cultural predominance in the face of the challenge from European and Indo-Malay influences in dress, speech, lifestyle, custom, religion and law. Thus Portier was given a new Javanese-Islamic name, Nur Samidin, and was informed by Dipanagara that he would be made a *Tumenggung* of the Rongkob area if he agreed to embrace Islam (i.e. be circumcised and learn the articles of the Faith). 'I had become just like a Javanese', Portier wrote at this time, 'even down to my dress'; and when he rode into Dipanagara's encampment at Rejasa in the Kulon Praga area, Pangéran Mangkubumi was heard to remark: 'Well! The European! One would scarcely have given him that name; he looks so like a Javanese. In fact, he bears a close resemblance to Dietrée (the Official Interpreter for Javanese in Yogya, see above n.13). He must be tired-give him some food!'
239. On Raden Saleh, see above n.223. He was, in fact, a second cousin of the pensioned *Bupati* of Torbaya (Semarang), Kyai Adipati Suraadimanggala (in office, 1809-22) in whose residence (*dalem*) at Torbaya he spent some of his youth between the years c. 1814-1822. The following is the family tree showing Radèn Saleh's relationship with his Suraadimanggala cousins compiled from Soemahatmaka, *Pratelan*, p.11; and Baharudin Marasutan, *Raden Saleh*, p.8. See Family tree of Radèn Saleh next page.
Crawfurd in his *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1820), vol.I, p. 47-48, mentioned that Suraadimanggala exceeded all his countrymen in the 'vigour of his understanding,

FAMILY TREE OF RADEN SALEH SYARIF BUSTAMAN



sagacity and intelligence'. His wife (a daughter of Mangkunagara I) and daughters were educated by him and acquired great proficiency in Arabic and Javanese literature, whereas his two eldest sons (Radèn Mas Salèh and Radèn Mas Sukur) were sent to the English Seminary in Calcutta under the protection of Lord Minto (Viceroy of India, 1807-13), where, after two years study (1812-14), the first acquired such a good reading and writing knowledge of English that 'his language could not easily be discerned from that of a well-educated English youth'. At the start of the Java War, only the younger son, Radèn Mas Sukur, went over to Dipanagara, but his action apparently implicated his whole family (see also above n.229) and led to the arrest of both his father and his elder brother who were interned on a Dutch warship (the *Maria Reigersbergen*) in Surabaya harbour and later exiled for a time to Ambon (1826-29). They were subsequently sent to Madura where they were placed under the protection of the Sultan of Sume-nep (24 April 1830), see Soekanto, *Dua Raden Saleh. Dua Nasionalis Abad ke-19. Suatu Halaman dari Sedjarah Nasional* (Djakarta : N.V.Pusaka Asli, 1951) pp.27-39, who makes much of Radèn Mas Salèh's supposed anti-Dutch sentiments before the Java War; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.392-93. Radèn Mas Sukur, who fought with Pangéran Sérang's forces around Semarang in the early months of the war and later joined Dipanagara, was captured by the Dutch in 1829 and left an interesting account of his campaign experiences, see NvB 12 pt.8, W.F. Walraven van Nes, 'Verklaring van den Gevangen Genomen Muite-ling Bekend onder den Naam van Soekoor, doch te voren den Naam Gevoerd Hebbende van Raden Pandjie Joedohadmodiekoro en bij de Muite-lingen dien van Raden Hassan Machmood', Yogyakarta, 1 August 1829. He was subsequently exiled to the island of Ternate where he died, see Soemahatmaka, *Pratelan*, p.11. It should be noted that Carey, 'Raden Saleh', *passim*, who attempts to make a connection between the celebrated Javanese painter and Dipanagara, completely misses this family connection with the prince during the Java War and accepts, too uncritically, Dr Harsja Bachtiar's judgement ('Raden Saleh', p.48) that Saleh had few motives of national pride in his choice of subject matter for his painting of Dipanagara's capture (1857).

240. This report appeared in the Advertisement Sheet (*Bataviaasch Advertentie Blad*) of the *Bataviasche Courant* (the 'Gazette' referred to by Payen) of Saturday, 3 September 1825. The relevant passage is as follows: '*De militaire Kommandant [i.e. Lieutenant-Colonel Achenbach, above n.135], welke zich ten volste te vrede betuigt heeft over het gedrag van alle zijne officieren en manschappen prijst nog bijzonder dat van den kapitein der infanterie Kumsius, van den kapitein ingenieur Keer, van den luitenant Sickes[z] van het 5de batalion der 19de afdeeling en van den sergeant Ermatinger van de 1ste compagnie 2de batalion die zelfde afdeeling, welke onderofficier, op voorstel van zijne Excellentie den Lieutenant Gouverneur, dadelijk tot luitenant is bevorderd*'.
241. According to Louw (*De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.308), the incompetent Captain Kumsius had himself drawn up this battle report (part of which appeared in the *Bataviaasch Advertentie Blad* of 3 Sept. 1825, above n.240)

and had inflated his role in the reported engagement. On Kumsius, see further above n.60; and below Payen's entry for 24 September 1825.

242. The *Kapitan Cina* in Yogya at this time was Qué Wi Kong (in office, Dec. 1813 - 1828), a relation of the erstwhile *Kapitan Cina*, Tan Jin Sing (in office, 1803-13; died 31 May 1831), who had been appointed as Radèn Tumenggung Secadiningrat on 13 December 1813. It is possible that the latter was also the target of attack. Indeed, ever since the latter's appointment as a Javanese *Tumenggung* in 1813, both he and members of his family had become highly suspect in the eyes of the local Javanese and Chinese communities because of his ambivalent political position, a situation epitomised by the clever Yogyanese ditty: '*Cina wurung; Londa durung; Jawa tanggung*' ('No longer Chinese; not yet a Dutchman; a half-baked Javanese!'), see Carey (ed.), *Archive*, vol.I, p.191-92, p.196; and *Id.*, 'Javanese Perceptions', pp. 28-31. In fact, an attempt on Tan Jin Sing (Secadiningrat's) life had occurred earlier in late June 1812 in the aftermath of British attack on the Yogya *kraton* and this had led to a Sepoy (later European) guard being constantly stationed at his residence (*kongsi*) in the middle of the Yogya *Kampung Cina*, see Baud 306, 'Rapport van W.H.van IJsseldijk omtrent de Vorstenlanden', 22 Oct. 1816. On the duties of the Chinese officers appointed by the European Government at this time, see James R. Rush, 'Social Control and Influence in Nineteenth Century Indonesia: Opium Farms and the Chinese in Java', *Indonesia* no.35 (April, 1983), p.54, who enumerates them as follows: 'they kept the Chinese census, collected the head tax, levied fines and issued permits; they settled civil disputes and advised the colonial courts as to the character of Chinese witnesses and defendants. Generally they were [there] to maintain peace and order among their own and exercise surveillance amongst the community as a whole, reporting irregularities to the Dutch administration. They were a buffer between the Chinese population and Java's white rulers, and their power was considerable', see further above n.127.
243. On the titles taken by Dipanagara when he assumed the style of Sultan Erucakra at Selarong on 1 Sura, Wawu, A.J. 1753 (16 August 1825), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.287 n.218. They read as follows: *Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erucakara* (the 'Just King'), *Kabirul Mukminin* (the First among the Believers), *Sayidin* (Lord of the Faith), *Panagagama Jawa* (Regulator of the Religion in Java), *Kalifat Rasulullah* (Caliph of the Prophet of God). The order and content of the titles sometimes varied in the prince's later letters and proclamations. For a Dutch translation of this letter from Adinagara (Suryèng[a]laga) to Wiranagara prepared by the *Élève in de Javaansche Taal*, C.L. van den Berg, see KITLV H 699 'Archiefstukken (Diverse) over de Vorstenlanden' (Rouffaer notes), p.38 n°32.
244. See Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.286 n.213.
245. See above ns. 48 and 243.

246. It is unclear who this was. Bendha may refer to a village in the Prabalingga district of southern Kedhu which was the scene of a small revolt in January-February 1822. One of the leaders of this revolt, Radèn Ngabèhi Mertawijaya, was still at large in 1825 and afforded Dipanagara considerable support at the start of the Java War, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, pp.52-53, p.266 n.123. Both Bendha and the neighbouring village of Pesantrèn were renowned as villages of 'priests' (i.e. religious students [*santri*], legal scholars [*ulama*] and members of the tax-free religious communities [*pardikan*]), and the latter place was especially well known for its finely woven pandanus reed mats (*klasa pesantrèn*) which were sold widely throughout Central and East Java, see MvK 3054, 'Statistieke Rapport der Residentie Kedoe', (1836), p.34, p.38; and Raffles, *History of Java*, vol.I, pp.166-67. It is curious, however, that in his very full report on the most important religious teachers in Kedhu in 1819, the Dutch Resident, F.E.Hardy (in office, 1818-21), did not mention this village, see AN BGG, 8 March 1819 no.9 (*Opgave over de Staat der Scholen door den Heer Schneither Verzogt*), F.E. Hardy (Resident of Kedhu) to Algemeen Secretaris (J.C.Baud), 15 April 1819 (where the only religious teachers referred to in the district of Prabalingga are: Kyai Muhamad and Kyai Jagaria of the *désa* of Pabélan; and Kyai Haspia of the *désa* of Kuweron), see further J.A. van der Chijs, 'Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het Inlandsch Onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië aan Officiële Bronnen Ontleend', *TBG*, vol.14 (1864), pp.212-323. Whoever the Kyai Guru of Bendha was, he was certainly not Wiranagara's own religious teacher for the Tumenggung appears to have studied at the religious school at Melangi just outside Yogya under the revered Kyai Guru Melangi (Kyai Tap-tajani), see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.245 n.41; and dB 412, W.F. van Nes to Du Bus de Gisignies, 30 Oct. 1826, who also mentioned that Wiranagara could write 'like a *santri*', i.e. in *pégon*, unvocalised Arabic script.
247. i.e. the Assistant-Resident, Chevallier, should be in charge of the reception committee at the Residency House for the Lieutenant-Governor (H.M. de Kock) when the latter eventually arrived in Yogya on 25 September 1825.
248. See above n.226.
249. See above n.135. A day after De Kock's arrival in Yogya, Smissaert was suspended from his functions as Resident and told to proceed to Semarang to await further orders from the Governor-General. He was replaced first by MacGillavry (above n.24), who served as Temporary Resident (16 September - 28 October 1825), and then by J.I. Sevenhoven (in office, 28 October 1825 - 10 March 1827). According to De Kock (MvK 4132, 'Bijlage Smissaert', De Kock to Smissaert, 26 September 1825) he had wanted to suspend Smissaert from his functions immediately after his arrival in Surakarta (30 July 1825), but he had found that this was not possible because Yogya had been under attack and, therefore, he had been temporarily left in place. De Kock's decision to suspend Smissaert was later endorsed by Governor-General

- G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen, see *BGG ir*, 20 December 1825 no.2, who dismissed him outright from Government service. In c.1828, he returned to the Netherlands and attempted to get his case reconsidered by the Minister of the Colonies (C.Th. Elout) and the King (William I, reigned, 1813-40), but to no avail. Four years later (1832), he died a broken man in the Hague, see *BCG*, 5 Feb. 1827 no.28; *BGG*, 7 Dec. 1830 no.17; and MvK 4132, 'Bijlage Smissaert', esp. Smissaert to King William I, n.d. (? Oct. 1828), which contains much information relating to Smissaert's career and the background to the Java War.
250. Payen's description of the small, fat and balding Smissaert as a Sancho Panza style figure is marvellously apt given what we know from the Javanese *babads* of the way he was viewed as a sort of deformed *panakawan* (clown retainer) by the Javanese, see Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.XX, p.LVI n. 44, pp.34-35, p.255 n. 87. On the character of Sancho Panza, the rustic squire in Miguel Saavedra's (1547-1616) famous satirical romance, *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (published in two parts in 1605 and 1615), see Paul Harvey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), p.233, p.694.
251. See above n.167.
252. These were both Surakarta *Tumenggung* (senior administrative officials / military commanders). Kali Kuning is the name of a village and administrative area of Surakarta to the south-east of Kajoran and Tembayat on the borders of Gunung Kidul, see Balé Poestaka, *Babad Gijanti. Pratélan Namaning Tijang lan Panggénan* (Batavia: Balé Poestaka, 1939), p.59 sub: 'Kalikoening'; H.J. de Graaf, 'De Regering van Sunan Mangkurat I Tegal-Wangi, Vorst van Mataram 1646-1677. II. Opstand en Ondergang' *VKI*, vol.39 (1962), p.184; and De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. VI, p.127.
253. Lieutenant-Colonel *à la suite* Adrianus, Rudolf, Willem Gey (born Willemstad, 25 Nov. 1788 - died ?) had served under Napoleon in various artillery and mounted artillery regiments of the Noord Armée, seeing action in Prussia, Sweden, Pomerania, Saxony, Germany, Russia, the Netherlands and France. On 11 April 1820, he had been appointed to the Dutch mounted artillery brigade destined for Indonesia where he had arrived on 25 October of the same year. Participating in the Dutch campaign against Palembang (1821) as a Major and mounted artillery commandant, he had later taken part in Van Geen's expedition against the South Sulawesi kingdoms of Bone, Suppa and Tanete (1825) until he was urgently recalled to Java with his commanding officer in August of that year. On 13 September 1825 he had become a Lieutenant-Colonel *à la suite* on De Kock's personal staff, and ended his career as temporary commander of the Second Military Division (Semarang) of Java and commanding officer of the 19th Infantry Division (29 Jan. 1828 - 1 Feb. 1829) before taking his pension on 3 May 1829, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.359 n.2.
254. Captain (later Major) Louis, Charles du Bus (born Dottignies [West

Flanders, Belgium], 16 July 1790 - killed in battle at Agam on the West Coast of Sumatra, 9 July 1833), had been in Dutch military service since 1815 and had arrived in Indonesia in January 1820. After working his way up through the ranks, he had been appointed as an infantry officer in 1816 and had seen action in Palembang (1821) and South Sulawesi (1825) from whence he was urgently recalled in August 1825 to serve with the 18th Infantry Division in Java. He was later sent on an official Dutch mission to China in 1826 and became an Adjutant to the Flemish-born Commissioner-General, L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies (born Dottignies, 1 March 1780 - died Antwerp, 31 May 1849; in office, 3 Feb. 1826 - 16 Jan. 1830), to whom he was almost certainly related. He retained the same post under Du Bus's successor, Governor-(post-1832, Commissioner-) General Count Johannes van den Bosch (in office, 16 Jan. 1830 - 31 Jan. 1834), and was appointed as a Major on 27 February 1833. Four months later he was killed in battle in West Sumatra, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p.359 n. 1 (who gave his birth place wrongly as 'Bottignies'); and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, pp.329-330.

255. This may have been the Crown Prince of Bangkalan (Madura), Pang-éran Secadiningrat, who later succeeded his father, Sultan Cakraadiningrat I as ruler of Bangkalan (Madura), see Ki Padmasusastra, *Sejarah-Dalem Pangiwa lan Panengen* (Semarang: G. Kolff & Co, 1902), p.225; J. van Goor, 'Salt and Soldiers', p.193; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.359; vol.II, p.681. He commanded the Bangkalan auxiliary troops which had been hurriedly dispatched to Java in August 1825, see KITLV Or 13 (*Buku Kedhung Kebo*), XIV.46 ff., p.153 ff. where the 5,000 troops from Sumenep and Bangkalan are described as 'full of fight' (XIV.46. / *gangsäl-èwu gunggungé kang wadya alit / tandangé galak-galak*). On the Madurese troops in general in Java at this time, see further above ns. 187 and 235.
256. For a detailed description of the composition of Lieutenant-Colonel Cochius's relief column which numbered some 1,500 men (with six cannon) and 200 horse loads of supplies, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.359-60. It arrived in Yogya from Klathèn on 20 September 1825 and returned to Klathèn two days later.
257. This may refer to Captain (later Colonel) Leonard, Hendrik Stennekes (born the Netherlands, 1798 - died the Netherlands (?), 1848) MWO, who had come out to Indonesia in 1817 and had been appointed an artillery (?) Captain in 1822. Information courtesy of Mej. drs. van Anrooij of the Rijksarchief. The other possibility is that Payen was using the term '*capitaine*' loosely and was here referring to Battery Sergeant-Major (post-3 Nov. 1825, Second Lieutenant) Frans Steegen (born Hanover, 20 March 1801 - died Yogyakarta, 30 April 1826) who had served as a gunner in the Dutch army in Indonesia since 14 October 1820 and had taken part in the expedition against the South Sulawesi kingdoms of Bone, Suppa and Tanete in 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I p.455 n.9. The former seems more likely.

258. Payen is probably referring here to his situation before 19 May 1816 when he was appointed by Royal Decree of King William I (reigned, 1813-40) to serve as an official painter to the Natural Sciences Commission under Professor C.G.C. Reinwardt. See further above the Introduction, p.1.
259. See above n.13 the Introduction.
260. A '*tandhu*' is a Javanese-style sedan chair or palankeen with bamboo stretchers carried by two porters or transport coolies (*gladhag*; see above n. 88). It was usually shaded at the sides and roof by bamboo or rush matting to protect the occupant against the glare of the sun. Such shaded style *tandhu* were often referred to as '*tandhu Cina*', see Gericke and Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, vol.I, p.615 sub: '*tandhu*'. Because of the great expense and inavailability of the Government run post-chaise service, this was the form of transport most often used by poorer European, Indo-European and Chinese travellers (especially females) in Java at this time.
261. A '*pikulan*' refers to a load, probably here a horse load which was estimated to weigh at this time about 180 *ponden* (1 *pond* = 453.6 grams). This was about a third as much again as a load which could be carried (suspended on a bamboo pole across the shoulders) by a man, which usually weighed in the region of 125 *ponden*, see Dj. Br. 23, J.A. van Braam to Daendels, 31 Aug. 1808.
262. Purwareja, like Rajawinangun (above n.16), was the site of a country retreat laid out by Sultan Hamengkubuwana II (reigned, 1792-1810 / 1811-12/ 1826-28) when he was still Crown Prince (i.e. pre-1792). It was situated some two kilometres to the east of Yogya on the road which led from the Pakualaman to join the main Yogya-Sala highway at Nyamplung (below n. 265). For a description of its delapidated and overrun condition in the mid-nineteenth century, see d'Almeida, *Life in Java*, vol.II, pp.121-22; and Veth, *Java*, vol.III, p.635.
263. Wanacatur and Pengawatreja (also referred to as '*Ngawatreja*') were country retreats (*kalangenan-Dalem*) laid out by the second Sultan during his first period as Yogya ruler (i.e. between 1792 and 1810), see NBS 133 n° VIII, 'Lyst van de Tuinen en Lusthoven van den Sultan van Djocjo', 21 Jan. 1830. Like Purwareja (above n.262), they lay about two kilometres to the east of Yogya athwart the road which led from the Pakualaman to the main Yogya-Sala highway at Nyamplung (below n. 265).
264. A river which runs about two kilometres to the east of Yogya in a north-south direction. It was the source of much of the local irrigation in this unusually fertile area. See further above n.16.
265. A village (and ? post-station) on the main Yogya-Sala highway between Bantulan and Kalasan situated at the point where that highway is joined by the side road from the Pakualaman in Yogya leading via the royal retreats at Purwareja, Wanacatur and Pengawatreja, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, 'Overzichtskaart van een Gedeelte der

Residentiën Soerakarta, Jogjakarta en Kedoe'; and *Id.*, vol.III, Plaat I, 'Westelijk-Gedeelte van het Oorlogstooneel van den Java-Oorlog'.

266. see above ns. 21 and 156.
267. I have been unable to trace this name in any of the six volumes of Louw and De Klerck's history of the Java War (*De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*) and it is likely that Payen has garbled the name in his text. One possibility is that Payen was referring to Second Lieutenant Johan, Alphons, Victor de Sturler (born Tiel, 15 Sept. 1804- died ?) of the 7th Hussar Regiment who had gone to Indonesia in 1819 and appears in a list of Sala inhabitants in 1823. For details of his career, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.III, p.126 n.3.
268. Captain Jean, François, Felix, Xavier Bourdon (born Hensbergen [Belgium], 20 April 1799 - died on board ship returning on leave to the Netherlands, 24 November 1826) had served as a Second Lieutenant in the South Netherlands Infantry from the age of fifteen (1814) and had transferred to the Dutch Indies army a year later. He had been in Indonesia since 1817, seeing action in Palembang (1819, 1821), Kalimantan (Borneo) (1822, 1823), South Sulawesi (1825) and Pontianak (July-August 1825). He had been urgently recalled with other members of Major Sollewijn's (below n.270) expedition to the West Coast of Borneo to reinforce the Dutch army in Central Java in August 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.368 n.3; and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.87, p.140, p.172 n., p.330.
269. On the Surakarta *Pangérans* who accompanied De Kock to Yogya on 24 September 1825, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.395-96. Pangéran Purbaya (officially spelt 'Purubaya') (later Sunan Pakubuwana VII; reigned, 14 June 1830 - 10 May 1858) and Pangéran Ngabèhi were both sons of Sunan Pakubuwana IV (reigned, 1788-1820), the first by his official wife, Ratu Kencana, a granddaughter of Panembahan Cakraningrat V of Madura, see Padmasusastra, *Sejarah-Dalem*, p.160 no.4, p.163 no.23, p.223 no.1. Pangéran Aria Mataram was the eldest son of Pakubuwana IV's younger brother, Pangéran Mangkubumi who had been exiled to Ambon (1817-24) for the part he had played in the Sepoy 'Conspiracy' of 1815, see Carey, 'Sepoy Conspiracy', p.321 n.104. De Kock left an interesting description of them (dK 111, 'Beschrijving van het Karakter en Hoedanigheid van die Keizer, de Prinsen en den Rijksbestierder van Soerakarta', Magelang, 21 Nov. 1829) stating that Purbaya 'has a gentle and pleasant manner, and is loved by Javanese of all classes. But he is also said to be very weak and has allowed himself to get mixed up in all sorts of political intrigues at the Sala court'. An honorary Lieutenant-Colonel of the 7th Hussar Regiment, he saw no active service during the war leaving his troops to be commanded in the field by Pangéran Aria Mataram. He continued, however, to draw his Lieutenant-Colonel's pay. Pangéran Ngabèhi, according to De Kock, was 'an esteemed prince, loved by many. He is extremely friendly with Purbaya and attached to the Dutch Government. He is not a hero. He took to the field in August 1826, but his troops were defeated by Dipanagara at Delanggu

[28 August]. He lives a very quiet, domestic life and only has one wife' (on the 17th-century style Dutch furnishings in his *dalem* in Surakarta and the 'European' parties he gave, see Carey, 'Origins of the Java War', p.63). Finally, Pangéran Aria Mataram, in De Kock's estimation was known as 'a clever man' who had given much good advice to Purbaya and was much attached to the Dutch Government. He spent three years campaigning in the field with a troop which he had armed and equipped partly at his own expense and partly at Purbaya's (above). The latter force was the only one of the Sala contingents which was unreservedly praised by Dutch field commanders, see GKA, 14 June 1830 no.239, Commissioners (H.G. Nahuys van Burgst and Pieter Merkus) to Governor-General J. van den Bosch, 4 June 1830. On the conduct of the Surakarta auxiliary troops in general during the Java War, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.II, p.218-23, pp.250-52, p.536.

270. Major (later Colonel) Bernard Sollewijn (born St. Niklaas [near Antwerp], 13 Feb. 1785 - died Breda, 20 Feb. 1864) was one of the most colourful European commanders during the Java War. The son of a *vannier-colporteur* (basket worker / peddler), he joined the French army as a private in 1802 and worked his way up through the ranks, campaigning in Germany, Austria, Italy and Russia. In January 1813 he was a corporal in the 2nd Grenadier Regiment of the Imperial Guard and was appointed an officer (Second Lieutenant) a month later. He later saw action in Saxony (1813-14), being promoted as Captain on the field of battle. He went over to Dutch service in December 1814. Transferred to the Dutch-Indies army, he went to Indonesia in 1819, taking part in the expedition to South Sulawesi (Jan.-July 1825) where he became a Major and was chosen to command the Dutch force sent in July 1825 to crush the revolt of the Chinese settlers on the West Coast of Kalimantan (Borneo) (above n.192). He fought in Java during the first two years' of the war, but lost his left eye in battle against Dipanagara's forces at Delanggu (28 Aug. 1826) and was invalided out of active service as commandant of the military headquarters at Weltevreden (8 May 1827). Later that month he became a member of the High Military Tribunal (*Hoog Militair Gerechtshof*) and was promoted as Lieutenant-Colonel (16 July 1827). In Central Java again at the end of the war, he participated with the Resident of Yogyakarta, Walraven van Nes, in bringing the escaped Sunan, Pakubuwana VI (reigned, 1823-30), back from the south coast on 8 June 1830, an action for which he was specially congratulated by Governor-General Van den Bosch. He took his pension in December 1832, but appears to have returned to active service soon afterwards and was back in Indonesia in 1842. He finally retired in 1846 with permission to wear active uniform for the rest of his life, see Cruyplants, *Histoire*, pp.122-124, pp.321-324, pp.398-400; Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.368 n.1; vol.II, p.477; and De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.VI, p. 131 ff. There is also a biography of his life by the Belgian historian, J. van Raemdonck. In the Madurese history of the Java War (Palmer van den Broek [ed.], 'Geschiedenis van het Vorstenhuis Madoera', *TBG*, vol.20 [1873], p.535), he is described as a sort of *buta* (giant) or forceful *Kurawa* war-

rior because of his flaming red moustaches and beard which looked as though they had been tinted with the yellow-red dye of the *galuga* (Mal. 'kasumba') plant.

271. Captain Willem, Cornelis van den Polder (born Rotterdam, 19 Feb. 1787 - died Yogyakarta, 24 Feb. 1826) was an infantry officer who had served in the Dutch forces of King Lodewijk (Louis Bonaparte) (reigned, 1806-10) and had campaigned in Germany, Brabant and France. He had transferred to service with an East Indies infantry regiment in 1814 and had been in Indonesia since 1816, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.385 n.2.
272. Captain Jacques, Joseph Servais (born Fosse [Belgium], 27 July 1782 - died ?) had worked his way up through the ranks in French service during the Napoleonic Wars and had campaigned in Germany, Prussia, Poland and the Iberian peninsula. In 1816, he went over to Dutch service as a Second Lieutenant and arrived in Indonesia in August 1817. At the time of the outbreak of the Java War (1825-30), he was a Captain in the 18th Infantry Division stationed in Semarang. After two years active service, he took his pension in October 1827 and arrived back in Antwerp the following year, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.296 n.3; and Cruyplants, *Histoire*, p.398.
273. Major (later Honorary Major-General) Cornelis, Pieter, Jacob Elout (born Haarlem, 26 Nov. 1795 - died Batavia [?], 1843), was a son of the Dutch Minister of the Colonies, Mr. Cornelis Theodorus Elout (1767-1841; in office, 1824-29). He had served in the Dutch forces under Lieutenant-General Anthing as an *aide-de-camp* in 1815 (during the Waterloo campaign) and had accompanied his father (then one of the Commissioners-General) to Indonesia in 1816 with the rank of Captain. Appointed an *aide-de-camp* to Governor-General Van der Capellen in 1817, he had taken part in military expeditions to Cirebon (1818), Kalimantan (1818), and Palembang (1819, 1821). From 1820, he was Secretary for Native Affairs (*Secretaris voor de Inlandsche Zaken*) and was on home leave between 1822 and 1825. Returning to Java in June of the latter year, he was promoted Major (25 July 1825) and participated in the expedition to the West Coast of Kalimantan (above n.192) from whence he was urgently recalled in September 1825. He then saw extensive action (mainly in East Java) during the first two years (1825-26) of the Java War, and in January 1827 became Resident and Military Commandant of Riau, participating in 1828 in the re-establishment of Dutch authority in the Karimon-Jawa islands. After the Java War, he filled a number of important civil and military posts in Sumatra (*i. a.* Resident, and Civil and Military Commandant of the West Coast of Sumatra, 1830-33) and commanded the 1834 Dutch expedition to the Lampung region. He ended his days as a member of the Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*) (1839-43), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.388, p.388 n.1; and Bezemer (ed.), *Beknopte Encyclopaedie*, p.143 *sub*: 'Elout'.
274. Captain-Adjutant Carel Koelman (born 's-Gravenhage, 12 July 1794 - died Magelang, 9 Jan. 1828) had started his career as an apprentice

sailor in February 1812 and had then transferred to the 2nd Battalion of the Dutch Home Militia (*Landmilitie*). As an Adjutant-NCO, he had seen action in Brabant and Holland in 1814, and had come out Indonesia in April 1816. Promoted Second Lieutenant shortly afterwards (1 July 1816), he served in various staff positions in Java, reaching the rank of Captain-Adjutant of the Third Military Division (Surabaya) of Java on the eve of the Java War. On 29 April 1826, he was appointed to Major-General Van Geen's (above n. 190) staff, but died less than two years later, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.412 n.3.

275. Captain-Adjutant (later Lieutenant-General) Jonkheer François, Vincent, Henri, Antoine, Ridder de Stuers (born Roermond, 29 Dec. 1797 - died the Netherlands, 19 Dec. 1881) had fought as a mounted infantrymen (*jager te paard*) in the army of the Prince of Orange (later King William II of the Netherlands; reigned 1840-49) during the Waterloo campaign (1815), and had been given a staff position in 1816. Transferred in 1820 to the staff of the Dutch East Indies army, he participated in the Palembang expedition (1821) and had become an *aide-de-camp* of Lieutenant-General De Kock (above n. 96) in May 1822. He served on De Kock's personal staff (from Jan. 1826 as his private secretary) throughout the Java War and was promoted to the rank of Major-Adjutant in August 1829, marrying De Kock's daughter in the same year. After the capture of Dipanagara (28 March 1830), he was chosen by De Kock to escort the latter to Batavia (see Carey, 'Raden Saleh', p.19 ff.), and wrote an interesting report about his voyage (28 March-8 April 1830) with the prince (De Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.V, pp.741-46). After the war, he accompanied De Kock back to the Netherlands and served as his Chief of Staff in Zeeland during the Belgian Revolt (1830-31). Promoted a Lieutenant-Colonel (24 July 1833), he was back in Indonesia in 1836 and became Temporary Governor (post-14 Jan. 1839, Military Commandant) of the Moluccas (1837-42). During this period he was appointed a Full Colonel by personal order of the Dutch King (William I, reigned, 1813-40) because of his crucial services at the time of the wreck of the Steamship *Willem I* on the Lucipara reef (5-6 May 1837). Invalided back to the Netherlands because of sickness (1 Jan. 1842), he was active as an administrator in the Executive Department of the Ministry of the Colonies (1843-53) and reached the rank of Major-General in 1849. Appointed in October 1853 as Lieutenant-General and Commander of the Netherlands Indies Army (a post previously held by his brother between 1830-35), he served in Indonesia again from February 1854 to October 1858, but, at his own request, he retired from active military duties in the latter year and returned to the Netherlands serving for the remainder of his life as Adjutant-General to the King (William III; reigned, 1849-90). An accomplished amateur artist and memorialist, some of his drawings of landscapes were lithographed for his useful *Mémoires sur la Guerre de l'Ile de Java de 1825 à 1830* (Leyde: S.& J. Luchtmans, 1833), see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.267 n. 1; Cruyplants, *Histoire*, pp.87-88; Bastin and Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints of Indonesia*, p.335; and Bezeemer (ed.), *Beknopte Encyclopaedie*, p.523 sub: 'Stuers'.

276. See above n. 143.
277. On Cleerens, De Bast and Holmberg de Beckfelt, see above ns. 191, 232 and 233. For a detailed account of these military manoeuvres, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.403 ff.
278. See above n. 212.
279. See above n. 249.
280. The officer in question was Major Elout, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.391-92 and above n. 273.
281. See above ns.240 and 241.
282. Payen has omitted the name of the Surakarta military commander but it may have been Radèn Tumenggung Yudakusuma, see dB 436, Lieutenant-Colonel Timmermans, 'Nominatieve Staat der Inlandsch Hoofden welke Gedurende de Bestaande Onlusten van het Gouvernement Onderhouden Worden, met Opgave van het Kostende Derselve in Eene Maand', 15 Jan. 1830. On the Surakarta *Pangéran* who accompanied De Kock to Yogya on 24 September, see above n. 269.
283. Jacques Vallée, Sieur des Barreaux (born Châteauneuf-sur-Loire, 1602 - died [?], 1673), a minor French seventeenth-century poet, was well known for his witty aphorisms, see Augé (ed.), *Petit Larousse Illustré*, p.1263.
284. On the political situation in the eastern outlying provinces at this time and the varying loyalties of the main *Bupati* of the Yogya areas, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I. p. 521ff. The two 'Chief Regents' (*Bupati Wedana*) referred to here by Payen were the much-hated Radèn Rongga Prawirasentika, a son of Radèn Rongga Prawiradirja I (first Yogya *Bupati Wedana* of Madiun, 1755-1784); and Radèn Mas Tumenggung Prawiradirja (later Pangéran Adipati Prawiradiningrat), a son of the famous Radèn Rongga Prawiradirja III (in office as *Bupati Wedana* of Madiun, 14 Jan. 1796 - 17 Dec. 1810) who was killed in revolt. The young Prawiradirja had served as Joint Acting *Bupati Wedana* of Madiun since 1822 with Prawirasentika, but was confirmed by the Dutch as sole official *Bupati Wedana* in 1826, when Prawirasentika was dismissed. He was renowned for his unswerving loyalty to the Dutch Government, see Louw, *loc.cit.*; and Carey (ed.), *Archive*, vol.I, p.194.
285. Adriaan, David Cornets de Groot Jr. (born Groningen, 1 April 1804 - died Utrecht, 10 July 1829), the celebrated scholar of Javanese, was the third son of A.D. Cornets de Groot Sr. (1768-1827), who was at this time serving as Resident of Gresik (1820-26). He had come out to Indonesia with his parents in 1816 and had served for a time as a clerk in the General Secretariat in Batavia (1818-19) before being appointed as a Student in the Javanese Language (*Élève in de Javaansche Taal*) in Surakarta (1819). From 1823 to 1827, he acted as Residency Secretary in Surakarta and was charged with by the Government with the preparation of an official Javanese grammar in 1825 which he never lived to see published. His last appointment was as Government Secretary for Native Affairs in Batavia (1827-29), a post he had to relinquish because of ill-health. His tragic death (from con-

sumption ?) at the early age of twenty-five robbed the scholarly world of one of the most promising Javanese scholars and linguists of his generation, see E.M. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), pp.44-49, p.82; and F.G.P. Jaquet, *Gids van in Nederland Aanwezige Bronnen betreffende de Geschiedenis van Azië en Oceanië, 1796-1949*, vol.IV (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut, 1971), p.3. His private papers and letters, which are kept in the Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) in The Hague (old inventory number IXe), constitute a very rich source for the cultural and social history of this period. See further Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.XV, p.313.

286. On Pangéran Sérang, see above ns.227 and 229; and Carey (ed.), *Babad Dipanagara*, p.284 n.205; his movements at this time are discussed in Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.527-36.
287. Sergeant (post-3 Nov. 1825, Second Lieutenant) Elijze, Gerrit van der Wees (born Beesterzwaag, 11 Oct. 1795 - died ?) had served in the 5th Regiment of the East Indian Infantry since 1814, seeing action at Waterloo and in France (1815-16). He had been in Indonesia since 1817, and had reached the rank of Sergeant in April 1822. At the time of the outbreak of the Java War, he was garrison commandant at Bayalali, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.455 n.3.
288. See above n. 239.
289. See above n.236.
290. See above n.236; and Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.529.
291. On the Semarang citizen's militia (*schutterij*) at this time and the way a mounted volunteer force (*'vrijwilligers te paard'*) was originated on their initiative, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, pp.365-66; and above n.229 (on the terrible defeat suffered by the latter on 3 Sept. 1825).
292. For a detailed description of these developements in Kedhu, see Louw, *De Java-Oorlog*, vol.I, p.466 ff.

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Please note that, in addition to the abbreviations used elsewhere in the text, the following extra abbreviations have been used in this index: DN = Dipanagara; r. = reigned.

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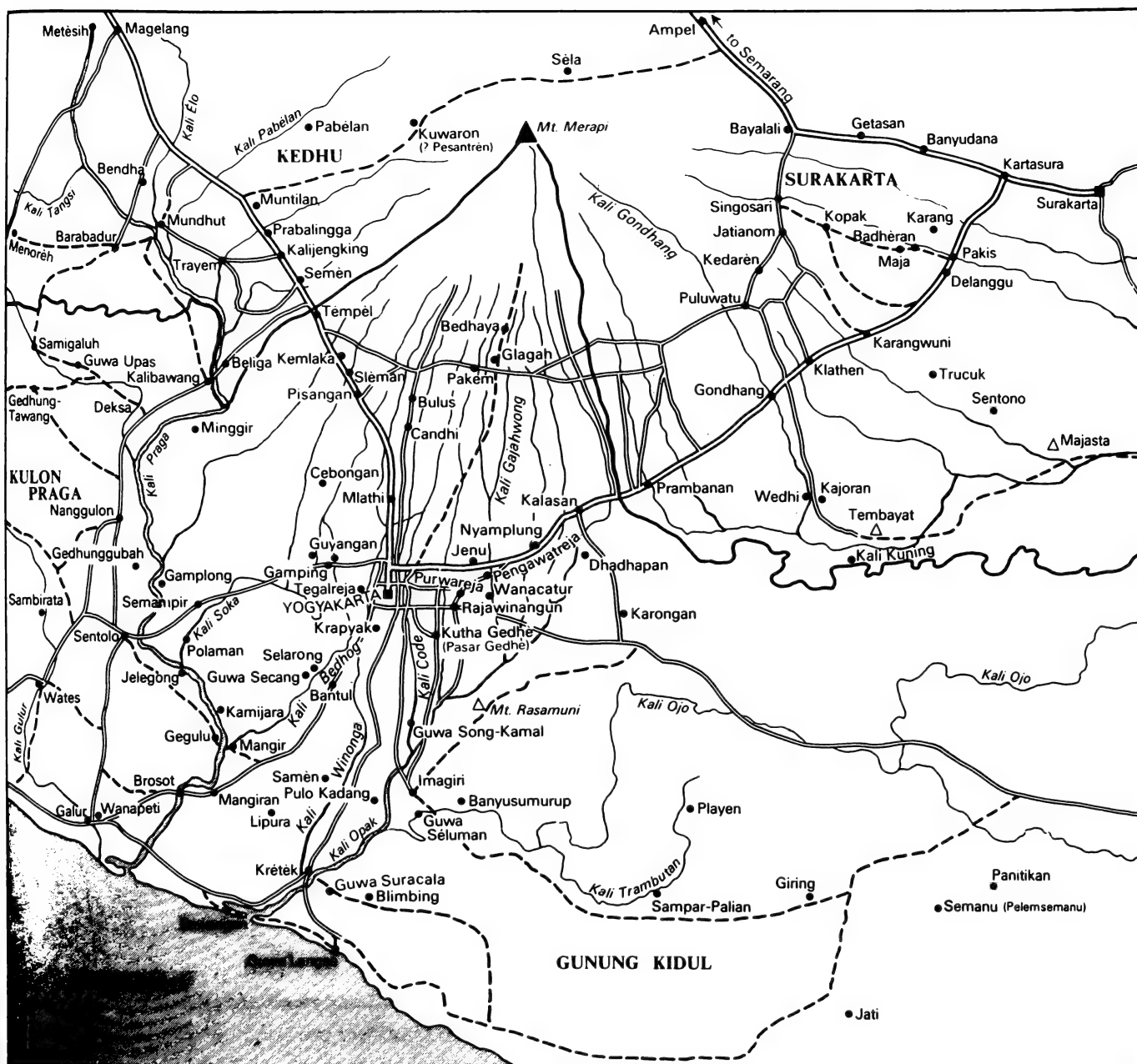
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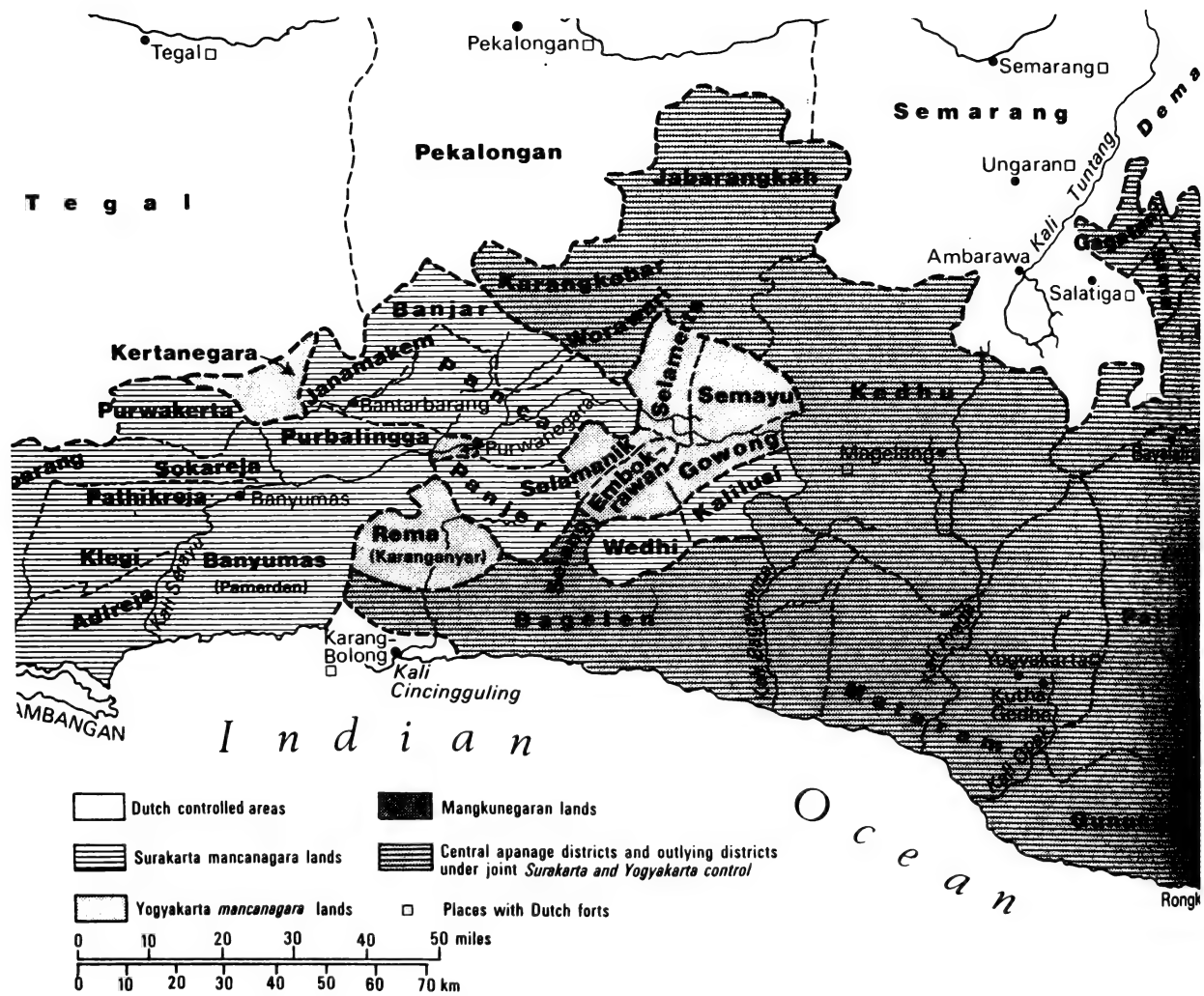
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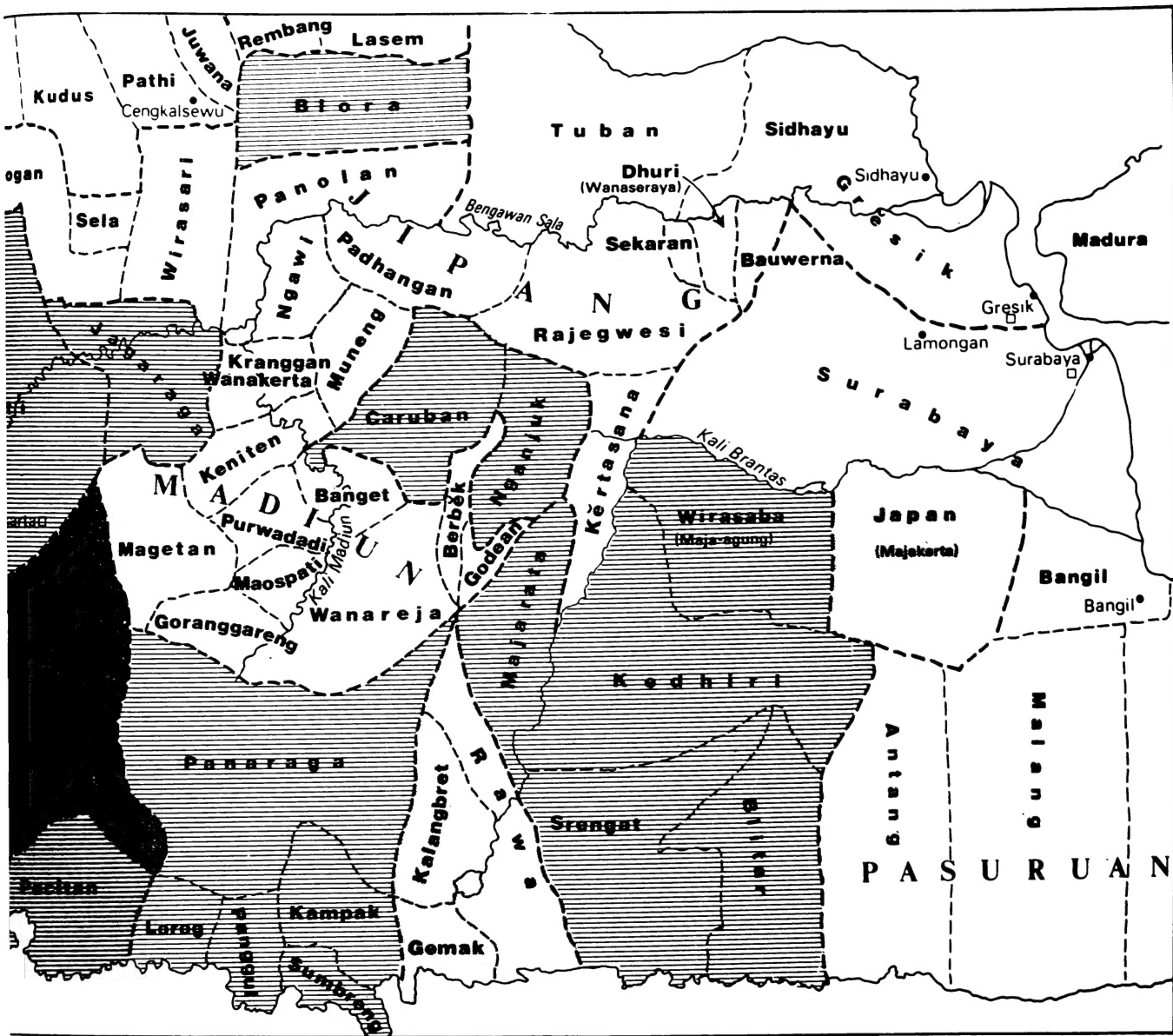
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